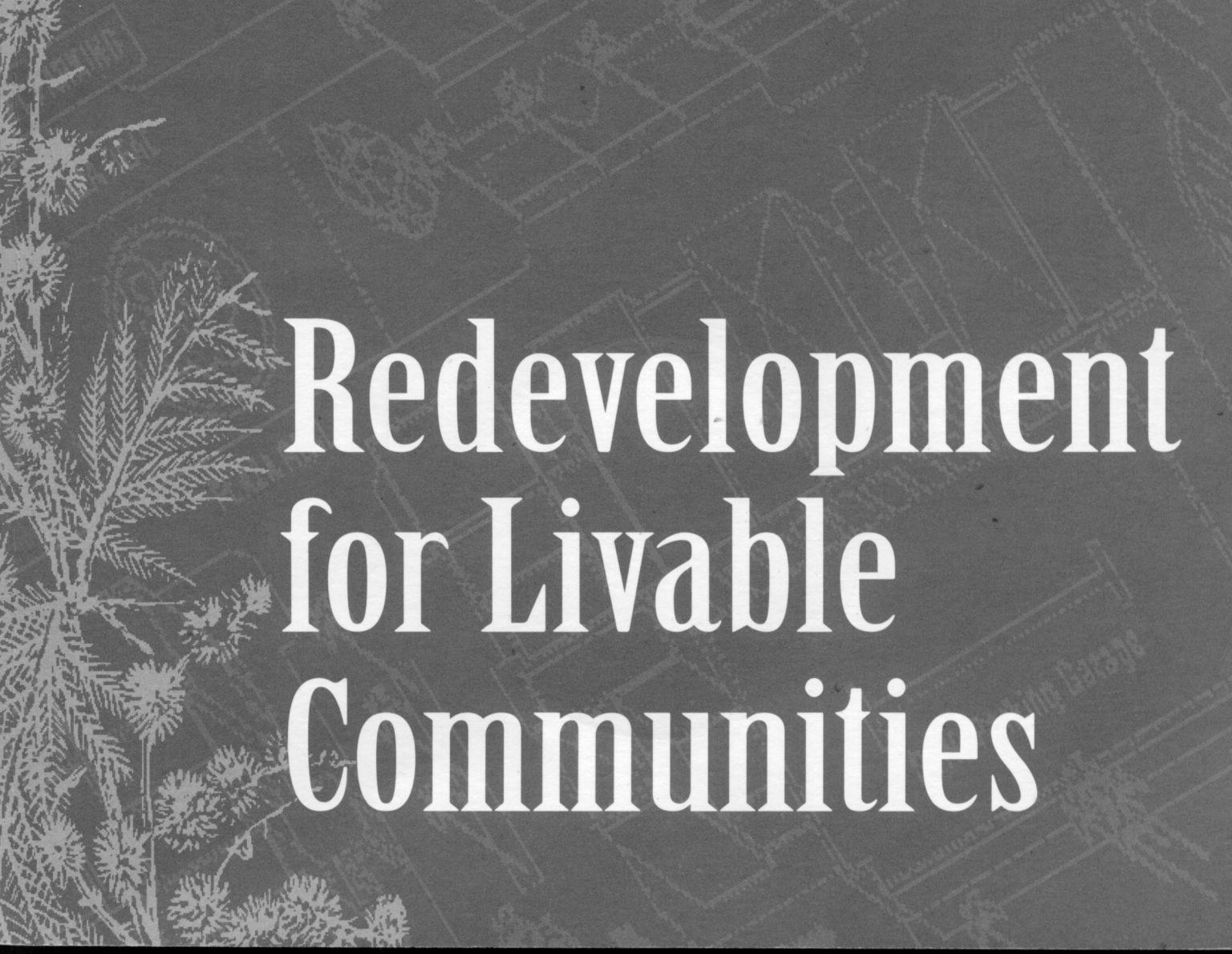

Redevelopment for Livable Communities

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Executive Summary

Impacts of Growth on Washington State

The addition of 2.5 million residents between 1990 and 2020 poses a serious threat to the quality-of-life in Washington state. Land use plans submitted by local governments in ten populous counties under the state's Growth Management Act suggest that the decades-long trend of sprawling, low-density development will continue in the next 20 years. Hundreds of thousands of acres of rural lands will be lost to urbanization, and housing the growing population will be expensive, perhaps crippling, in terms of infrastructure and greatly intensified traffic in the state.

About 70% of the homes built in the state between 1960 and 1990 were located on the fringes of our cities and towns. In spread out developments, the places that people need to go are too far away for walking, biking, or transit to be convenient. While the state's population increased 40% between 1970 and 1990, miles driven grew by 121%.

Sprawling development also drives up costs for sewers, water, roads, electricity and other infrastructure and services. Compact developments cost less, but residents and businesses there usually pay the same tax and utility rates as those that choose locations in sprawling developments. When costs are "socialized" in this way, the real costs of inefficient development are hidden.

Redevelopment to Protect Quality-of-Life

Channeling future growth in the state onto lands already developed at low densities, rather than onto rural lands, will save residents and businesses billions in infrastructure and service costs. Redevelopment will also protect more of our remaining farms, forests, and natural lands.

The biggest barrier to redevelopment may be that citizens often resist commercial activities and increased residential densities in their neighborhoods. For existing residents to support new development in their neighborhoods, they must play a meaningful role in shaping the vision and details, and development must make the neighborhood a better place to live.

The redevelopment strategy advocated in this report emphasizes:

- efficient land use;
- quality design; and
- "access by proximity" so that driving is optional rather than mandatory.

It focuses on creation of mixed-use centers that bring people closer to the shops, services and activities to which they need regular access. Centers are enhanced by "livability infrastructure" that provides for slower traffic; safer walkways and bikeways; convenient access to transit; more trees and plantings; and gathering places that reflect a neighborhood's distinct identity.

Model Projects

Several model projects from around the country are profiled that show that underutilized, paved-over lands can successfully be transformed into vibrant living space. Each of the projects share a few common characteristics, including:

- a mixed-use center;
- an orientation to people on foot; and
- an emphasis on quality design and integrating into the community.

These model projects have made significant contributions to the livability of their communities. Specifically, they have:

- revitalized decaying places;
- helped prevent suburban sprawl; and
- given more people convenient alternatives to automobile dependency.

Getting From Here to There

For redevelopment to prevail in the decades to come, new attitudes and approaches to development issues are needed. Redevelopment projects appear to work best when the developer, the city, and the residents and businesses of the neighborhood can unite behind a common vision for the site.

Local governments have a crucial role to play in fostering such "proactive planning" by helping the community to outline a vision for its future, with clear and detailed master plans for the future of specific neighborhoods. This will allow residents of an area to set the framework for development, instead of forcing them into a defensive posture in reaction to development proposals.

Community consensus behind a development vision can provide developers a clear set of expectations to work within and help ensure rapid approval of projects by local governments when they meet the community's vision. This reduces borrowing costs, and increases lenders confidence in innovative projects. The profiles show that it is important for developers to consider how their projects will fit within and add to the mix of uses in the neighborhood and how it will link to other uses in the immediate surroundings.

Planning for retrofit development will allow communities to construct a framework to:

- provide quality infrastructure and services at the lowest cost;
- to give citizens a much greater degree of control over the future of their neighborhoods and communities; and
- to protect rural lands while enhancing the livability of our cities and towns.

Introduction

This report explores new development strategies to cope with the additional 2.5 million residents that are expected in Washington State between 1990 and 2020. To protect the quality-of-life residents now enjoy, these new strategies need to protect the farms, forests, and natural lands that are among the features that make Washington State a great place to live. They need to help contain the runaway costs of public infrastructure and services. And they need to make walking, biking, and transit more convenient, while enhancing the livability of our communities.

"Sustainable redevelopment," channeling growth into already developed, low-density lands, is an effective strategy to meet these objectives. The report outlines design principles and techniques to ensure that redevelopment enhances the surrounding neighborhood, and it profiles several successful redevelopment projects that can serve as models from which to learn.

The report addresses the challenges that redevelopment poses for local governments, citizens, and developers. For redevelopment to work on a significant scale in Washington State, a new era of proactive planning will need to succeed the current contentious mode of development that often places citizens in a defensive posture. Residents, businesses, elected officials, agency directors, planners, and developers are each vital to the process. Each must be involved in creating and implementing clear and common visions for our neighborhoods and communities.

The report is divided into four sections:

1. Section 1 makes the case for sustainable redevelopment by first examining the environmental, social, and economic effects that sprawl has had on the state. It then briefly compares current growth planning in Washington to the state of Oregon's experience with growth management over the past 20 years.

2. Section 2 describes the design features of redevelopment that can improve community livability.

3. Section 3 profiles several successful redevelopment projects: the players, the designs, the economics, the achievements, the difficulties and the keys to success.

4. Section 4 explores some of the major challenges to successful redevelopment, including neighborhood resistance to nearby development and the financing and permitting challenges for developers. It describes tools for proactive planning to allow the community or neighborhood to craft a clear common vision for its future, providing a framework for development proposals and local infrastructure investments.

Section 1:
The Impacts of Growth in Washington

Section 1: The Impacts of Growth in Washington

A) Growth in the Next 25 Years

Washington state faces tremendous growth pressures. The Office of Financial Management projects that the state's population will grow by over 830,000 people on average each decade between 1990 and 2020, from less than 4.9 million people in 1990 to nearly 7.4 million in 2020.[1]

The pressures of growth are forcing changes in how we think about development. If growth patterns of the past prevail in the next few decades, housing and serving an additional 2.5 million people in 2020 will consume large chunks of Washington's remaining agricultural, forest, and natural lands.

Growth management plans submitted by 10 of Washington's counties, representing about half of Washington's population, suggest that in 20 years the average housing density will be about four units per acre. If these counties instead achieve an average density of seven units per acre, almost 350,000 acres could be spared urbanization.[2]

If sprawling development continues, the rapid growth in population will also intensify transportation challenges in the state. If the average state resident drives no more each year in 2020 than in 1990 (about 9,200 miles a year), total miles driven in the state will still increase from 44.7 billion in 1990 to 67.7 billion in 2020. To maintain current traffic volumes in 2020, residents will each need to drive one-third less on average than they did in 1990.

The distance we drive, however, has been increasing rapidly. In the year 1990, Washington residents each logged 30 percent more road miles on average than they did in 1980. If annual mileage per person continues to climb by 30 percent per decade, by the year 2020 auto travel in the state will reach a staggering 150 billion miles a year. The costs in terms of infrastructure, congestion, energy, and pollution would likely be unmanageable.

B) Sprawl in Washington State

After World War II, large-scale, sustained public investment in roadways helped make automobile travel easy. Auto mobility in turn made residential development far from town centers economically attractive. The built form that takes up much of the landscape around and between towns and cities is commonly called "sprawl."

Sprawl is characterized by low-density land uses that consume land quickly, much of it dedicated to roads and parking for automobiles. Vast suburban subdivisions and long strips of commercial development require a great deal of land, but often lack public spaces and a distinctive community identity, and tend to be inefficient for transit and hostile to pedestrians and bicyclists.[3]

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[1] Office of Financial Management. *Forecasts of the Population.* Olympia, Washington, November, 1994, pp. 1,3.

[2] 1000 Friends of Washington and the University of Washington Growth Management Planning and Research Clearinghouse, *Growth Management or Planned Urban Sprawl?: An Assessment of the Interim Urban Growth Areas Adopted by Washington Counties Under the Growth Management Act.*. Seattle, Washington, December 1993.

[3] Snohomish County Transportation Authority (Sno-Trans), *A Guide to Land Use and Public Transportation, Volume II: Applying the Concepts*, Lynnwood, Washington, December 1993.

Sprawl is also characterized by zoning codes that enforce a strict segregation of land uses as communities grow — homes in one area, shops and services elsewhere. In these communities, many of the places to which people need access — groceries, shops, services, recreation, entertainment — are out of walking or even bicycling distance from their homes.

The driving force behind sprawl is its profitability. Rural lands far from town centers are inexpensive. It is also much simpler to clear and build upon rural land than on urban land because there are no existing structures to demolish or infrastructure to design around. There are no surrounding urban uses to mesh with. And there are few neighbors to organize in opposition to development plans. Finally, because developers and lenders strongly favor project types that have track records of financial success, typical auto-oriented suburban projects can gain financing much easier than innovative mixed-use, pedestrian-oriented projects.

Sprawl is not inherently profitable, though. As will be shown below, many of the costs that make low-density residential and commercial development profitable are borne by the public. Generally, sprawl costs taxpayers and ratepayers substantially more than compact development patterns, and as public infrastructure and services are put into place in more efficient ways, the economic incentive to build on the fringes of town diminishes.

1961 ***1995***

These Issaquah aerial photos show how Washington's farms and forest lands are rapidly being lost to sprawling urbanization.

The Loss of Rural Lands to Suburbia

In Washington State, about 70 percent of the 825,000 housing units built in the state between 1960 and 1990 were located on the fringes of our cities and towns. (See Figure 1) By 1983, more people lived in unincorporated parts of the state than in cities and towns for the first time this century.[4]

Figure 1: Shift from urban to suburban construction in Washington by decade

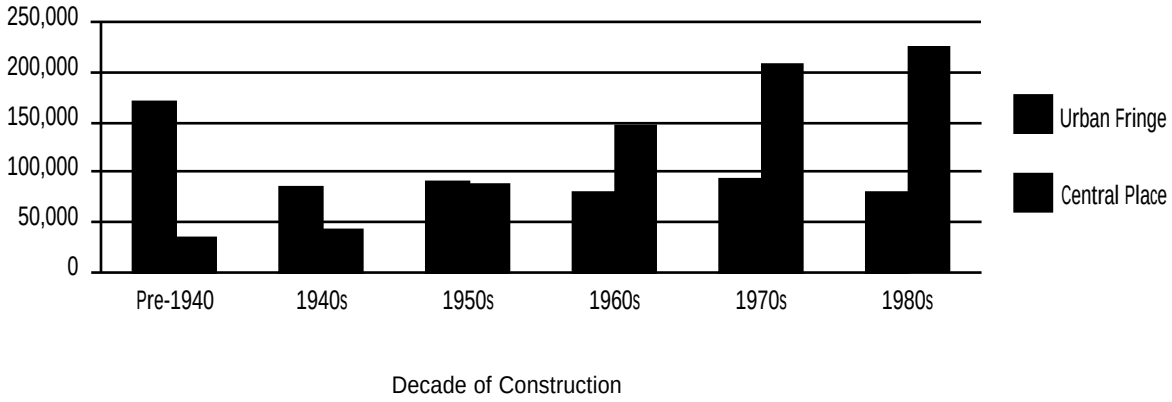


Figure 1: This chart shows where Washington State's current housing stock was built, sorted by the decade of construction. The relatively stable level of construction in central areas has been dwarfed by rapidly escalating rates of construction on the urban fringe.

Source: 1990 Census of Housing. Detailed Housing Characteristics: Washington. Wash, DC: Government Printing Office, 1993.

The loss of rural lands has been especially acute where growth pressures have been most intense; in the central Puget Sound region. Between 1970 and 1990, population in the four most populous counties grew 38 percent, but land consumed by development increased by an estimated 87 percent.[5] Pierce County lost over half its farmland between 1964 and 1992, about 73,000 acres. King County lost 40,000 acres of farmland, Skagit 44,000 acres, and Snohomish

Anita Lehmann, AIA for the Puget Sound Regional Council

[4] *The Quiet Crisis of Local Governance in Washington*, Final Report of the Washington State Local Governance Study Commission, Volume II, p5. (need remainder of citation!)

[5] Puget Sound Water Quality Authority, *State of the Sound: 1992 Report*. Olympia, Washington, June 1992.

55,000 acres.[6] The rate of loss slowed somewhat in the latter part of this period, yet these four counties still lost about 45,000 acres of rural land to urbanization from 1984 to 1992.[7]

In the larger 12-county Puget Sound Basin, where about three quarters of the state's population resides, over 350,000 acres were converted to residential and commercial development and roadways between 1967 and 1984, according to the Puget Sound Water Quality Authority. Forests, pastureland, and cropland together shrank by about 385,000 acres during the same period. (see Figure 2)

Figure 2: Changes in land use, Puget Sound Basin, 1967-1984

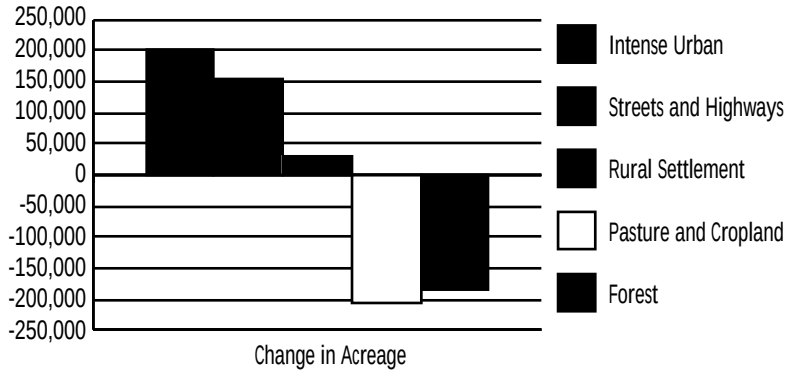


Figure 2. This graph shows how much farmland and forest acreage was lost to urban development, including roads, in the 12-county region surrounding Puget Sound, between 1967 and 1984. "Rural settlement" includes non-farm residences and mines.

Source: Puget Sound Water Quality Authority, State of the Sound 1988 Report, Seattle, Washington, 1988.

The American Farmland Trust (AFT) recently identified the Puget Sound Basin and the Willamette Valley (including Clark County) as among the country's most "endangered" urban-edge areas. AFT President Ralph Grossi said, "(S)ome of the nation's best farmland is being wasted by urban sprawl, low-density patchwork development that uses much more land than necessary, and makes it riskier and more expensive to farm the land that is left." Keith Eckel of the American Farm Bureau agreed, "The one thing we need to remember is that once that land is developed, there can be no going back, no restoring it to agriculture. It is an irrevocable decision."[8]

[6] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Agriculture*. U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, DC, various years.

[7] Economic and Engineering Services, Inc., *Puget Sound Regional Council Satellite Remote Sensing Project*. Seattle, Washington, April 1994.

[8] Bernie Ward, "Saving the Soil," *Grassroots*, Vol.2, #1, 1995.

Washington's private forest lands are also being lost to development. In its 1992 *Annual Report*, the state's Department of Natural Resources reported that 12,000 to 30,000 acres of private forest a year were being lost, primarily to urban and suburban development.

Each year, roughly 30,000 acres of the remaining wildlife habitat in the state — wetlands, streamside riparian zones, forests, and shrub steppe — are claimed for human use, according to conservative estimates by the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife.[9] As suburban sprawl overtakes habitat, animals are pushed out, hampering their ability to reproduce. Sprawl also causes human-wildlife conflicts when, for example, people encounter cougar or black bear around new subdivisions.[10]

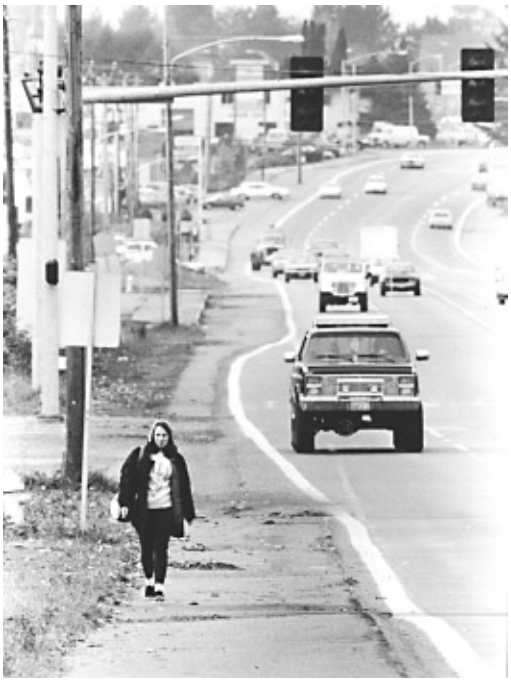
Mark Noble

The state's Department of Natural Resources estimates that 12,000 to 30,000 acres of private forest lands are lost to development in Washington each year.

Growing Automobile Dependence

As our settlements have spread widely over the landscape, distances have grown between where people live and where they need to go. When destinations are far, walking is not a viable option, and bicycling, ridesharing and transit are usually inconvenient as well.

In this context, it is not surprising that the vast majority of trips are made by driving alone. In response, businesses tailor the design of their sites for easy auto access, and traffic planners prescribe wider roads to cope with rapid increases in vehicle traffic. Both of these responses make walking and biking less pleasant and more dangerous, which makes driving relatively more convenient, even for many short trips.[11]



Mark Noble

Auto-oriented roadways and site designs make walking unpleasant.

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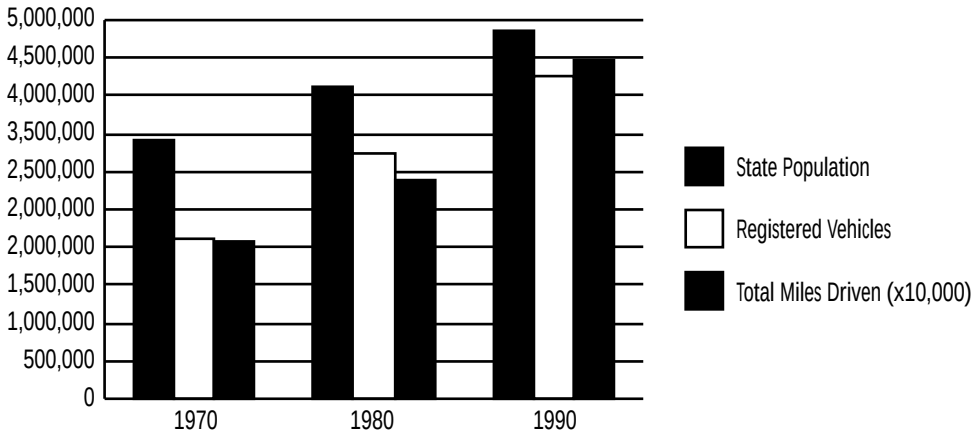
[9] Chris Drirdahl, Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife, "Documentation of the State's Loss of 30,000 Acres of Fish and Wildlife Habitat Per Year." April 1995.

[10] Patricia Thompson, Urban Wildlife Biologist, Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife. Personal communication, June 1995.

[11] Washington State Energy Office, *Municipal Strategies to Increase Pedestrian Travel*. WSEO #94-211, Olympia, Washington, August 1994.

[12] Washington State Energy Office, *Washington State Petroleum Markets Data Book*. Prepared by Brian Lagerberg and Mark Anderson. Document No. WSEO 91-384. Olympia, Washington, January 1992.

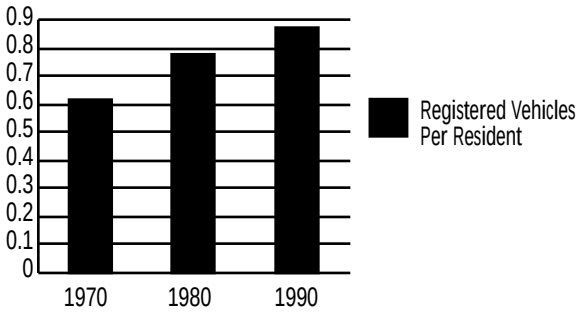
In Washington, people have in fact grown more reliant on the automobile. The state's



population increased 40 percent between 1970 and 1990, while the number of registered vehicles grew by over 100 percent and total miles driven by 121 percent.[12]

Figure 3: Miles driven, registered vehicles, and population in Washington state, 1970-90

Figure 3 shows that the number of vehicles and the distance they travel have both increased faster than population in Washington state.



Source: U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Highway Statistics*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1971, 1981, 1991; except population figures from Office of Financial Management*, Washington State 1993 Data Book*, Olympia, WA, 1993.*

Figure 4: Vehicles per state resident, 1970-90

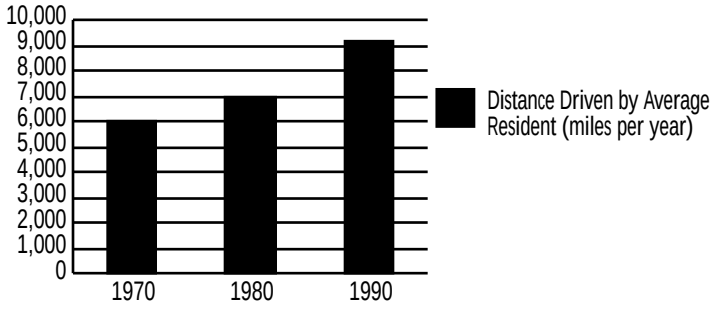


Figure 4 shows that auto ownership increased by about 40 percent on a per-person basis, and is approaching one vehicle for every adult and child in the state.

Source: U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Highway Statistics. *Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1971, 1981, 1991.*

Figure 5: Miles driven per state resident, 1970-90

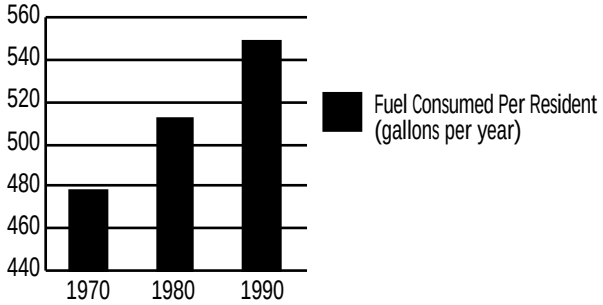
Figure 5 shows the dramatic increase (54 percent) in the average amount a state resident drives annually.

[13] Federal Highway Administration, *Highway Statistics*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Publication No. FWHA-PL-94-023, 1971 and 1991.

[14] Washington State Energy Office, *1995 Biennial Energy Report*, Document No. 94-315. Olympia, Washington, 1995, p.3.

[15] Washington State Energy Office, *Energy and the Growth Management Act: Model Language for Local Governments' Comprehensive Plans*. Document #94-095. Olympia, Washington, April 1994.

Source: U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Highway Statistics. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1971, 1981, 1991.



Fueling Washington's 4 million cars and trucks required about 2.7 billion gallons of gas in 1990, 64 percent more than in 1970.[13] Person for person, Washingtonians are consuming 12 percent more petroleum than the nation as a whole, because we drive more.[14] Overall, residents and businesses spend about $9.3 billion per year for energy, with almost half the energy supply used for transportation.[15] Much of this money leaves the state's economy in exchange for petroleum from other regions.

Figure 6: Fuel consumption per state resident, 1970-90

Figure 6 shows that, in spite of fuel-efficiency improvements, the amount of fuel consumed by the average state resident in a year grew due to increased reliance on the automobile. Overall, total motor fuel consumption in the state increased by over a billion gallons per year between 1970 and 1990.

[16] Washington Department of Ecology. *Washington State Air Quality Trends.* Publication No. 94-182. Olympia, Washington. November 1994; Tami Dahlgren, Washington Department of Ecology, Olympia, Washington. Personal Communication, June 6, 1995.

[17] Washington Energy Strategy Committee, *Washington's Energy Strategy*, Document No.92-158. Olympia, Washington. January 1993.

Source: U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Highway Statistics. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1971, 1981, 1991.

Over half of Washington's air pollution comes from automobiles, which are the state's leading source of carbon monoxide, particulate matter, and ground level ozone pollution.[16] Autos are also the source of about 40 percent of Washington's energy-related emissions of carbon dioxide.[17]

C) How Sprawl Effects Our Personal Lives

We are used to thinking of cars as convenient transportation, but the way sprawling development patterns have shaped our communities limits the transportation options of many people. The places where we need to go — work, shopping, services, recreation, entertainment — are quite often too far from home and each other to walk or bike, and transit is time-consuming and inconvenient.

Sprawling development can make living without a readily available car quite difficult by making access to jobs and activities dependent on driving. Simply affording one or more vehicles is a strain on the budget of many households. The purchase itself is one of the largest investments many people make, but there is also the fuel, insurance, vehicle registration and licensing, maintenance and repairs, tires and parking costs. Transportation expenditures, most of which are auto-related, consume almost 20 percent of the average American household budget, more than is spent on food.[18]

Suburban sprawl can be hard on families. When childrens' activities and needs are outside of walking and biking distance, parents spend a great deal of time chauffeuring. Parents' days fill up with driving to other scattered locations as well: commuting to and from work, shopping, running errands, visiting friends, catching some exercise and some entertainment.

For kids, places to play and learn from nature become more scarce as farms, forests, and wetlands are replaced with large-lot suburban subdivisions. Many communities face a shortage of public parks, too, as the high costs of sprawl strain the budgets of local governments.

Mark Garrity

Wide streets, long distances to activities, and a lack of public spaces in typical suburbs discourage cohesive neighborhoods.

The lack of accessible parks may help explain the rapid proliferation of enclosed playgrounds in "fast-food" restaurants. Burger King and McDonalds have installed playgrounds in 1,500, and 4,000, of their restaurants, respectively, at a cost of $30,000 to $250,000

[18] Chesapeake Bay Foundation, "The Many Costs of Driving", *Transportation Resource Book*, Vol. 1, No.3, June 1993.

[19] Mike Cassidy, "Secret recipe is child's play," *San Jose Mercury News*, May 7, 1995.

each. Families hungry for places to play are apparently grateful; a spokeswoman for a California owner of 25 franchises said, "Our sales increases are phenomenal. Double-digits, big double digits and that is generally true of any playland store."[19]

In many suburban neighborhoods, young people are isolated by the lack of public-access open space, the wide auto-oriented streets, and the long distances to friends and activities. Peter Calthorpe, noted community designer and builder, cites a study that compared the daily activities of 10-year-olds in a small Vermont town to kids the same age living in sprawling Orange County, California. The Vermont kids spent much more time playing outside, while the Orange County children watched four times as much television. Calthorpe asked, "What is the maturation of children who can't go anywhere on their own until they're 16?"[20]

Suburban sprawl can be very hard on older people, too. According to surveys by the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), there is "an overwhelming desire on the part of older persons to remain in their current homes and communities." AARP research shows that prevailing development patterns can make it difficult for seniors to remain in place. Many need "smaller, less expensive, and more easily maintained" homes which are hard to find in many suburbs. Low-density development also "makes older persons heavily dependent on automobiles to conduct basic tasks such as grocery shopping or visiting the doctor, even as their desire or ability to drive diminishes."[21]

The population of older people is growing rapidly in the United States. The number of Americans 65 years or older increased by 6.1 million from 1980 to 1991, to a total of 31.8 million people. As Baby Boomers reach 65 years old, the number of older people is expected to climb sharply to about 66 million by 2030.[22]

While automobiles certainly dominate much of the public space in our built environment, the human body was not built to withstand automobile collisions, which take a significant toll on people in Washington. Over 2,800 Washingtonians lost their lives in auto collisions in four years, from 1990 through 1993, while over 300,000 people suffered injuries.[23]

D) Suburban Sprawl's Economic Toll

Irrespective of the social consequences, the fiscal costs to local governments of auto-centered development are much greater than is often recognized. While the direct costs of maintaining a vehicle can tax the pocketbook, the costs for the infrastructure and services to support low-density development are often hidden in local government tax bills. A more fiscally conservative approach by local governments to planning and financing support for development, however, could yield significant savings in the future.

[20] Susan Cohen, "Anybody Home?" *The San Jose Mercury News*, December 18, 1994.

[21] American Association of Retired Persons, "Community Planning: AARP Policy Statement," AARP Policy Agenda, Washington, DC, 1995.

[22] American Association of Retired Persons and Administration on Aging, US Dept. of Health and Human Services, *A Profile of Older Americans: 1992*, Brochure PF3049(1292), Washington, DC, 1992.

[23] Data for 1990, 1992, 1993 from Federal Highway Administration, US Department of Transportation, *Highway Statistics.* Government Printing Office Washington, D.C.:, 1991, 1993, 1994. Data for 1991 from Washington State Patrol Research & Development Section. *Washington State Patrol 1991 Annual Report*. Olympia, Washington: 1992.

[24] Bank of America, California Resources Agency, Greenbelt Alliance, and The Low Income Housing Fund, *Beyond Sprawl: New Patterns of Growth to Fit the New California*, Executive Summary, San Franscisco, January 1995.)

California's experience with decades of intensive sprawling development can serve as a warning against ignoring the long-term consequences. A recent report sponsored by the Bank of America and three California agencies[24], decried the hidden economic and social effects of sprawl, arguing that, "Continued sprawl may seem inexpensive for a new homebuyer or a growing business on the suburban fringe, but the ultimate cost — to those homeowners, to the government, and to society at large — is potentially crippling." The report warns that, "in the long run (sprawl) will make California economically uncompetitive and create social, environmental and political problems we may not be able to solve."

Mark Noble

Infrastructure costs are higher for widely-dispersed developments because more utility line and roads must be extended to serve residents and businesses.

In 1988, the bipartisan Washington State Local Governance Study Commission recognized that, "rapid subdivision of agricultural and forest lands with little coordinated planning between all the local governments in a region" was contributing to what they deemed a "quiet crisis of local governance".[25]

The Commission found that as local governments extend urban style services to new subdivisions carved out of rural land, "citizens in more densely populated areas can end up subsidizing services for residents in less developed areas." Local governments do indeed collect taxes from these new residential subdivisions, but the costs of providing public infrastructure and services often exceed the revenues.

The reason it costs more is simple: Local governments and utilities must lay more water, sewer, and gas pipe, extend more electric and phone line, and build longer roads, all requiring public right-of-way, to reach a given number of residents in widely dispersed, low-density settlements compared to more compact communities. The same is true for public services; it costs more to provide garbage service, fire and police protection, street maintenance, and school transportation to homes that are spread out.

Paying for Residential Suburbs

Numerous studies have documented the economic costs of sprawling development patterns. The Sonoran Institute recently reviewed about 200 articles that examine the fiscal consequences of various land use patterns. They concluded that the body of research, "indicates that development of rural land to residential use consistently creates a revenue

[25] Washington State Local Governance Study Commission, *The Quiet Crisis of Local Governance in Washington*, Final Report, Volume II, 1988.

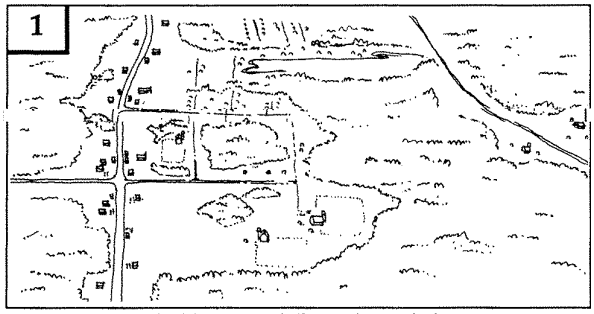
[26]The Sonoran Institute, *The Fiscal and Economic Impacts of Local Conservation and Community Development Measures: A Review of the Literature*, Tucson, Arizona, February 20, 1993.

[27]Sonoran Institute, 1993.

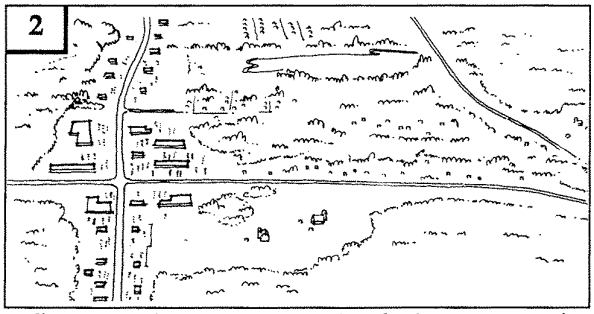
shortfall for the local government," and that, "Much research shows that the negative fiscal impact of new residential development is considerably higher for low-density development."[26]

More rigorous analysis of the fiscal impacts of development could help local governments craft a "least cost" approach to providing infrastructure and services. In many cases, protecting the rural character of lands will be a cost-effective option. For instance, a study in Yarmouth, Maine found that development of a specific parcel of land would cost government $140,000 a year more to provide services than it would generate in tax revenue. Outright purchase of the property would be less expensive for local government, costing about $76,000 annually for 20 years.[27]

Evolution of a Suburban Retail Area



New residential subdivisions are built near the state highway, creating a "bedroom" for commuters who work in the nearby city. Auto-oriented "strip retail" development begins along the highway and at the main intersections.



Shopping centers begin to appear at intersections where large, vacant tracts of land are rezoned for commercial development.

Conversion of farmland to subdivisions, in particular, should be carefully analyzed for fiscal consequences. In 1990, the American Farmland Trust and the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Cooperative Extension Service released a study showing that, when residences replace farms, they receive on average $1.36 in infrastructure services for each dollar they pay back to local governments in taxes, while the average farm receives just 21 cents worth of services for every dollar it pays.[28]

Likewise, a recent study of three Minnesota communities found that subdividing agricultural land for residential development is a net money loser for local government, and that in contrast, farming the same land brought in twice as much tax revenue than it demanded in services from local government.[29]

The Costs of Commercial Sprawl

While conversion of rural lands to residential subdivisions typically loses money for local governments, commercial and industrial growth more often provides a net fiscal gain. Local governments, however, must be careful to consider the cumulative effects of the type of commercial development anticipated for an area.[30]

The National Trust for Historic Preservation has compiled several recent studies of the impact of commercial development on local economies and taxes.[31] They strongly suggest that low-density, poorly coordinated commercial growth can have unforeseen economic and taxation consequences.

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[28] Sonoran Institute, 1993.

[29]American Farmland Trust and the Land Stewardship Project, "Farmland and Tax Bill: The Cost of Community Services in Three Minnesota Cities," Marine on St. Croix, MN, 1994 as cited in Kinsley and Lovins.

[30]Michael J. Kinsley and L. Hunter Lovins, "Paying for Growth, Prospering from Development," Rocky Mountain Institute, Snowmass, Colorado, 1995.

[31] Constance E. Beaumont, *How Superstore Sprawl Can Harm Communities*, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, DC, 1994.

[32]DuPage Countwy Development Department, "Impacts of Development on DuPage County Property Taxes." Prepared for the DuPage County Regional Planning Commission in Illinois, October 9, 1991. Cited in Beaumont, 1994.

In DuPage County, Illinois, a study by the planning commission found that commercial growth was the largest contributor to personal property tax increases in the county. The tax impact of commercial development was three times greater than residential, mainly due to the expense of services such as police, fire protection, and road widening and maintenance.[32]

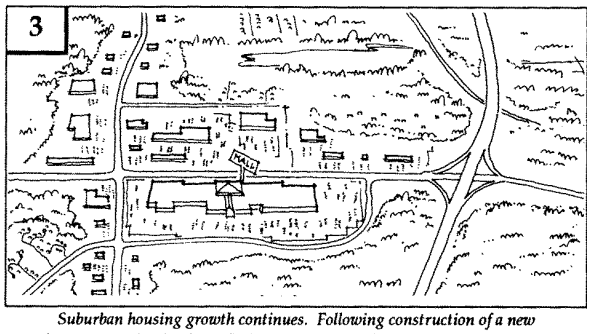
The DuPage study concluded that the typical fiscal impact studies carried out by local governments do not adequately examine indirect effects, and that by assessing projects on an individual basis, the cumulative effects of a series of developments are obscured.

John R. Mullin of the University of Massachusetts and Jeanne Armstrong, president of LandUse, Inc., observe that most traffic projections for shopping malls do not account for the secondary growth that follows mall development. They contend that strip commercial development almost always follows new shopping malls on the urban fringe, resulting in additional traffic, as well as greater draw on sewer and water capacity.[33]

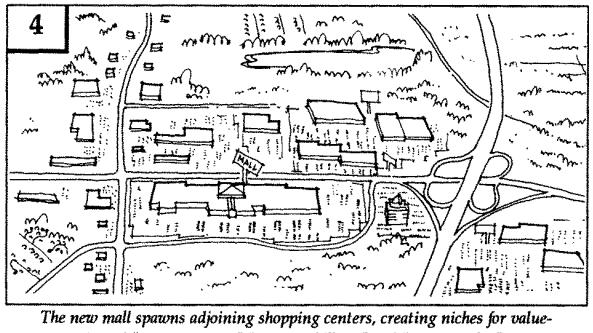
Furthermore, downtowns typically experience a drop in sales for five to ten years following mall development, according to Mullin and Armstrong, and their status as the "heart of the community" is eroded.

A 1993 study by Kenneth E. Stone, professor of economics at Iowa State University found that small towns of less than 5,000 people saw a nearly 20 percent drop in total retail sales on average in the five years after a "Wal Mart" discount store opened within a 20-mile radius.[34]

Evolution of Suburban Retail (continued)



Suburban housing growth continues. Following construction of a new freeway, a major developer finds conditions ripe for a regional mall. A new freeway interchange clinches the decision.



The new mall spawns adjoining shopping centers, creating niches for value-oriented "power centers," "category killers," and "power parks."

Sno-Trans

A study of 10 Colorado towns found that, in eight towns, retail sales climbed by an average of 15 percent after the arrival of Wal Mart, but that the increases occurred at the expense of existing businesses, both in town and in neighboring towns, especially downtown mechants that sell general department store goods. The study concluded that local governments should be wary of providing economic incentives to such large "discount stores" in anticipation of greater tax revenues and job creation.[35]

According to Doug Wiele of Douglas Thomas Properties in Lafayette, California, "big box retailers" are creating turmoil in the real estate industry by undercutting smaller merchants. For example, because a typical customer will visit a discount store about three times a month, but buy groceries three times a week, discount stores often sell grocery

[33]John R. Mullin and Jeanne H. Armstrong, "The Fiscal Impact of Mall Development: More is Often Less," Hadley, Massachusetts, September, 1989; cited in Beaumont, 1994.

[34]Kenneth E. Stone, "The Impact of Wal-Mart Stores On Other Businesses and Strategies for Co-Existing," Executive Summary, 1993; cited in Beaumont, 1994.

[35]Daniel R. Guimond and Meredith Miller, "The Impact of Discount Stores on Small Town America," Hammer, Siler, George Associates, Denver, Colorado, August 1989; cited in Beaumont, 1994.

[36]Doug Wiele, presentation at the Local Government Commission conference, "Putting Our Communities Back on Their Feet: The Next Step," Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California, May 4-5, 1995.

[37]Jim Musbach, presentation at the Local Government Commission conference, "Putting Our Communities Back on Their Feet: The Next Step," Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California, May 4-5, 1995.

items at a loss. The "Big Boxes" can draw customers in more frequently by undercutting supermarket prices, making their profits on general merchandise that is marked up 10-15 percent. The effect on smaller grocery stores has been devastating.[36]

Jim Musbach, a consultant for developers and local governments with Economic and Planning Systems, warns local officials against "cannibalizing their own retail base" by subsidizing Big Box retailers. A major reason that local governments work to attract the discount giants is the fear of lost retail sales tax revenue if a neighboring jurisdiction gets the regional discount stores. He advises local governments in a region to cooperate in carefully scrutinizing likely revenue impacts, and to factor in "the difficulty and cost of redevelopment" of Big Boxes because, in many regions, there is a "major oversupply of retail" making the failure of some stores likely.[37]

Infrastructure Deficit in Washington?

One of the important tenets of Washington's Growth Management Act (GMA) of 1990 is that local governments in the populous counties must create realistic plans for financing their infrastructure needs. Plans submitted to date suggest that local governments may have developed an "infrastructure deficit" due to past growth in which maintenance and expansion of facilities did not keep pace with growth's demands.

Did an infrastructure deficit sneak up on us? In 1988, the Washington State Local Governance Study Commission reported that, "Statewide capital costs for the next 13 years are estimated to be $4.9 billion."[38] (1994 dollars) This amounts to just over $1,000 per resident. In 1995, the state Department of Community, Trade, and Economic Development is reporting that projected infrastructure costs just for the next six years are running at $4,332 per resident, roughly 80 percent of which is for construction and maintenance of transportation, water, sewer, and stormwater facilities.[39]

Table 1: Projected Costs to Build and Maintain Infrastructure (1995-2000) Reported in Local Comprehensive Plans in Washington State (includes 58 percent of population)

Category	Total Projected Costs	Costs Per Resident
Transportation	$2,314,928,170	$1,873
Domestic Water	$1,016,682,959	$992
Sanitary Sewer	$930,343,080	$1,268

[38] Washington State Local Governance Study Commission, 1988.

[39] Mike Mattox, "Preliminary study shows huge local infrastructure costs," *About Growth*, Washington State Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development, Olympia, Washington, Spring 1995.

Stormwater	$599,343,080	$288
Total	$4,861,297,289	

Table 1 shows the projected infrastructure construction, repair and improvement costs included in the comprehensive plans submitted by local jurisdictions in the state, representing 58 percent of the population. Not all jurisdictions reported for all categories. The high costs suggest many local governments face an "infrastructure deficit", as growth in revenue sources has not kept pace with the high costs of providing services to new low-density developments.

Source: Washington State Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development, 1995.

Development That Costs Less

In perhaps the most comprehensive study to assess the fiscal benefits of preventing sprawl, a team of 20 researchers from Rutgers University, at the request of the New Jersey State Legislature, compared the costs of compact versus sprawling development patterns twenty years into the future.[40] The "compact development" scenario represented the state's newly adopted growth management plan and the "sprawl" scenario extrapolated past development trends. Both assumed New Jersey's population would grow by 520,000 people in 20 years, with a clear majority living in single-family homes.

The researchers concluded that more compact development will save, all told, about $1.3 billion in construction costs and $400 million each year in operating and maintenance costs. (See Table 2) Construction of over 1,600 miles of new roads will be unnecessary with compact development. Water demand will be lower by 2.5 million gallons a day and generation of sewage will be lower by 600,000 gallons a day. The loss of about 90,000 acres of quality farmland and almost 30,000 acres of environmentally sensitive natural lands to development will also be prevented.

Table 2: The Public Costs of Sprawl in New Jersey, 1990-2010

Infrastructure Construction Costs	
Local Roads	$650 million
State Roads	$90 million
Water Supply	$61 million
Sewers	$379 million
Schools	$200 million
Total for 20-year period	$1,380,000,000

[40] Robert W. Burchell, Principal Investigator, *Impact Assessment of the New Jersey Interim State Development and Redevelopment Plan, Report II: Research Findings*, Executive Summary, Rutgers University, Center for Urban Policy Research, February 28, 1992.

Operating and Maintenance Costs (Annual)	
Municipal	$112 million
Schools	$286 million
O & M cost per year	$400,000,000

Table 2 shows how much more sprawling development patterns (based on past trends) would cost governments in New Jersey, compared to the more compact patterns encouraged by the state's growth management plan.

Source: Impact Assessment of the New Jersey Interim State Development and Redevelopment Plan, *Rutgers University, 1992.*

Impact Fees: Will Growth Pay its Own Way?

An oft-heard comment in growth management debates in the state is that we should "make growth pay for growth." Embedded in the growth debate are questions of fairness.

Dr. James Frank of Florida State University argues that the way local governments and utilities charge the public for services, called "average cost pricing," results in "an enormous price subsidy" of some by others. Average cost pricing causes taxes and rates to go up for residents of existing communities because the higher costs for development on the fringes are spread equally among all users. Residents of new sprawling subdivisions, often the wealthier portion of the population that can afford to buy new homes, benefit by not having to pay the full cost of extending public services to their homes.[41]

"Impact fees" attempt to "make growth pay for growth" by recovering the public costs of new development. However, they are typically imposed on an average cost basis as well.[42] Average cost pricing hides the real costs of sprawl. Michael Kinsley and L. Hunter Lovins

[41] James E. Frank, *The Costs of Alternative Development Patterns: A Review of the Literature*. The Urban Land Institute, Washington, DC, 1989.

[42] Kevin Kasowski, "The Costs of Sprawl, Revisited," *Developments,* Vol.3, No.2, National Growth Management Leadership Project, Portland, Oregon, September 1992; and Sonoran Institute, 1993.

[43] Michael J. Kinsley and L. Hunter Lovins, "Paying for Growth, Prospering from Development," Economic Renewal Program, Rocky Mountain Institute, Snowmass, Colorado, 1995.

[44] Bank of America, et al., 1995.

[45] Kevin Kasowski, 1992.

[46] Holly Gadbaw, Washington State Department of Community, Trade, and Economic Development. Personal communication, June 1995.

of the Rocky Mountain Institute, argue that when local governments subsidize sprawl, they "skew the market and cause inefficient and expensive allocation of resources. Disconnecting costs from benefits, they unwittingly create socialized growth."[43]

When sprawl is subsidized, older communities suffer a disadvantage in the competition to attract and retain businesses. The result is disinvestment, and underutilized or abandoned infrastructure in the older communities. In California, "this trend is not only visible in the inner city. Huge investments in older suburban shopping centers, for example, are now threatened because these centers are perceived as uncompetitive," according to the Bank of America report.[44]

To address the inequities of average cost pricing, local governments, such as Tallahassee, Florida and DuPage County, Illinois, began to look at geographically variable fees. These impact fees vary according to distance from existing facilities, in order to better reflect the real cost of extending services to new development.[45] Several Washington communities have adapted this idea by waiving impact fees for developers that build housing downtown.[46]

Mark Noble

Some government services directly benefit automobiles but are paid from general taxes rather than directly by drivers. The result is a substantial subsidy for driving.

Services for Cars: The Other Hidden Subsidy

Many other services provided by local governments, including police, emergency services, planning, courts, street lighting, parking enforcement, car theft policing, and traffic safety education, serve auto-related needs, in part or directly. The high rates of driving caused by sprawl increase these costs, most of which are paid from general fund and property tax revenues, rather than directly through driver fees.[47]

Relatively little serious attention has been paid to these auto-related service costs. One detailed study, however, analyzed the city of Pasadena's budget and found that about 40 percent of the police and 15 percent of the fire department budgets are auto-related, along with 16 percent of paramedic services and a major share of public works, capital improvement and debt service budgets. All told, the city spent almost $25 million (1994 dollars) on auto-related services in the 1982-83 budget year, about three-quarters of which were paid through local taxes rather than directly by drivers. The study estimated the value of the subsidy to equal about $420 per household or about two cents per vehicle mile (1994 dollars).[48]

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[47] Todd Litman, *Transportation Cost Analysis: Techniques, Estimates and Implications.* Victoria Transport Policy Institute, Victoria, British Columbia, 1995.

[48] Stanley Hart, "An Assessment of the Municipal Costs of Automobile Use," December 1985; as cited in Litman, 1995.

[49] Todd Litman, 1995.

Based on an extensive literature review, independent transportation analyst Todd Litman estimates the cost of providing municipal services (excluding road work) to average about one cent per mile driven.[49] If Litman's estimate is accurate for Washington, where motorists drove over 44 billion miles in 1990, the hidden subsidy to driving in the form of auto-related municipal services approaches half a billion dollars a year.

How much of the subsidy is attributable to sprawl is not clear, but if the mileage driven by the average state resident had held steady between 1970-1990, we would drive over 15 billion miles less, about 35 percent, each year.

E) Future Growth: The Case for Sustainable Redevelopment

In 1991, Bill Blosser, Chair of Oregon's Land Conservation and Development Commission, editorializing described the great challenge his state, like ours, faces as it looks toward rapid population growth in the next two decades:

"Thirty to forty billion dollars. Will we use it to build communities that preserve and even enhance the livability Oregonians now enjoy? Or will we spend it as other states have, in ways that bring endless traffic congestion, air pollution, and high taxes to our cities and distress to the natural areas we prize?

"That, conservatively, is the kind of money Oregonians will spend on new housing and public facilities over the next 20 years. We can invest it wisely to yield both immediate and long-term benefits. Or we can misdirect it in ways that compromise, or even ruin, our quality of life."[50]

Several state government policies in Washington, most notably the Growth Management Act (GMA) of 1990, aim to reduce the negative impacts of sprawling development. As the first comprehensive plans crafted under Washington's GMA begin to take effect, has our pattern of growth changed? Are we now investing public resources wisely, to enhance the livability of our communities?

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[50] Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development, *Urban Growth Management Study*. Summary Report, Salem, July 1991.

[51] Tracy Burrows, "Washington: Laggard Localities," *Cascadia Forum*, vol.1, #2, University of Washington College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Seattle, Washington, May 1994.

[52] Donald Canty, "Oregon: After the Revolution," *Cascadia Forum*, vol.1, #2, University of Washington, College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Seattle, May 1994.

[53] Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development, *Urban Growth Management Report: Summary Report.* Salem, July 1991.

[54] Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development, 1991.

According to Tracy Burrows, planning director for 1000 Friends of Washington, one of the most effective tools in the GMA for encouraging efficient development is the establishment of "urban growth boundaries" to prevent suburbs from sprawling over farms, forests and natural lands.[51]

Oregon has 20 years experience with growth boundaries. In 1973, the Oregon Legislature passed landmark legislation that required its cities to establish such boundaries. The law has been reaffirmed in four statewide votes of confidence and is widely credited with containing sprawl in the Willamette Valley.[52]

Using the growth management law, Oregon communities have "averted the worst forms of escalation in housing costs, traffic congestion, and leapfrog development found elsewhere on the West Coast, but they have not eliminated sprawl *inside* urban growth boundaries," according to the major conclusion of an in-depth review of the law by Oregon's Department of Land Conservation and Development.[53]

Oregon's growth boundaries left enough undeveloped land available for low-density growth to continue. This has undermined efficient development, diluting infrastructure investment and fostering high levels of auto dependency, according to the report. Rapid development of land within growth boundaries has also hastened pressures to stretch the boundaries to encompass more rural lands. Blosser warns bluntly that, "the patterns of development now occurring are beginning to choke Oregon's livability."[54]

Has the Growth Management Act brought Sprawl Under Control?

The initial results from the GMA planning process show that Washington may be poised to repeat this part of the Oregon experience. A December 1993 analysis of land use plans submitted by ten Washington counties found that the urban growth boundaries in nine encompassed too much land to prevent sprawl. The average density in the 10 counties will be about 4.3 homes per acre. If instead these counties can grow toward a land use density of seven units per acre on average in the next 20 years, urban areas would consume 345,000 fewer acres.[55]

Sandy Desner, president of the commercial development firm Deskoba, Inc., points out that many counties have not adopted growth management policies at all. While counties with growth management have adopted impact fees to help pay the public costs of development, neighboring counties often lack growth policies and impact fees. This creates a disincentive to build where impact fees are in place and an incentive to instead opt for cheaper locations where there are no fees for recovering the public costs of development.[56]

In counties with growth management, the zoning for lands outside of urban growth boundaries is also important. Residential developer Dennis Adams considers "one per five" zoning (one residence per five acres) outside of the growth boundary as a significant contributor to inefficient development. Very large tracts of land are subdivided into parcels

[55] 1000 Friends of Washington and the University of Washington Growth Management Planning and Research Clearinghouse, *Growth Management or Planned Urban Sprawl?: An Assessment of the Interim Urban Growth Areas Adopted by Washington Counties Under the Growth Management Act*.. Seattle, Washington, December 1993.

[56] Sandy Desner, President, Deskoba, Inc. Personal communication, July 1995.

[57] Dennis Adams,Virgil Adams Real Estate. Personal communication, July 1995.

[58] Tracy Burrows, Planning Director, 1000 Friends of Washington. Personal communication, August 1995.

Section 2:
Sustainable Redevelopment: Growing Toward Complete Communities

that are too small to effectively manage as forest or farmland. "If the goal is to prevent suburban sprawl and conserve rural lands, the zoning outside the urban boundaries should be set at one per 20 or one per 50," according to Adams.[57]

Nevertheless, "one per five" zoning is common for rural residential lands outside of the urban growth boundaries in the new land use plans of Washington counties. Many counties slate much of their rural lands for even greater subdividing, as much as two homes per acre in some areas.[58]

While over 300,000 acres will be unnecessarily developed within current urban growth boundaries in 10 counties, the farms, forests and ecosystems outside these boundaries are also at risk of fragmentation or even ultra-low density suburban development.

Mark Garrity

Clustering shops and services near to homes makes it easier for residents to drive

Washington state stands to lose hundreds of thousands of acres of farms, forests and natural lands in the next 20 years to sprawling development. Residents and businesses will face high costs for infrastructure and significantly more traffic. Discovering ways that growth can work within our existing communities will help us channel growth onto the hundreds of thousands of acres of Washington's landscape already converted to low-density, auto-oriented land uses. The next section introduces the concepts and techniques of sustainable redevelopment, the art of building in already developed areas so that neighborhoods grow more livable and the costs of public infrastructure and services are kept under control.

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[59] For evidence of its growing popularity, see for instance, Jerry Adler, "15 Ways to Fix the Suburbs," *Newsweek*, May 15, 1995, pp46-53.

[60] Farhad Atash, "Redesigning Suburbia for Walking and Transit: Emerging Concepts." *Journal of Urban Planning and Development*, v.120, #1, March 1994, pp.48-57.

[61] Laura Olsen, *Transit-Oriented Communities*, Mobility Partners, U.S. EPA Office of Policy Analysis and the Surface Transportation Policy Project, Washington, DC, 1994.

[62] Sacramento County Planning & Community Development Department, *Transit-Oriented Development Design Guidelines*, Final Review Draft. Sacramento, California, September 1990.

Section 2: Sustainable Redevelopment: Growing Toward Complete Communities

The greatest challenge of redeveloping the suburbs may be that, to gain residents' support, development must improve the livability of the community. Fortunately, strategies for doing this are rapidly gaining recognition. This section explores design concepts and tools for rebuilding our communities to improve the livability of our neighborhoods, prevent sprawl, and make driving no longer mandatory for more people. The third section will highlight a growing body of redevelopment success stories that can provide models for developers, public officials, planners and citizens interested in protecting Washington's quality-of-life.

A) Building Complete Communities

In response to the economic, social, and environmental costs and problems linked to suburban sprawl, an alternative vision for planning and building communities has emerged. These approaches emphasize efficient land use, quality design, and "access by proximity" so that driving is optional rather than mandatory.[59]

This new vision reclaims many of the traditional American town planning principles of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Buildings and the design of the street are scaled to people walking, with a nearby "mixed-use center" that can include residences, services and offices, public buildings, shopping and entertainment. Housing opportunities are created for a variety of incomes and ages, and community identity is nurtured with public spaces and distinctive features.[60]

Sno-Trans

Neighborhood "livability" is important. A recent national survey found that most people would prefer an average house in a good neighborhood to a good house in an average neighborhood.

"Transit-oriented development" goes one step further by locating mixed-use centers next to transit stops. It aims to integrate the transit station into the other activities of the community and link residents to stations with a street atmosphere which is safe, convenient and easily accessible by foot and bicycle.[61]

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[63] Washington State Energy Office, Energy and the Growth Management Act: Model Language for Local Governments' Comprehensive Plans," WSEO #94-095, Olympia, Washington, April 1994.

[64] Jon Kessler and William Schroeer, *Meeting Mobility and Air Quality Goals: Strategies that Work.* US Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Policy Analysis. Final draft, October 13, 1993.

[65] California Air Resources Board and the California Environmental Protection Agency, *Transportation-Related Land Use Strategies to Minimize Motor Vehicle Emissions: An Indirect Source Research Study*. Prepared by JHK & Associates, Inc., Contract # 92-348, June 1995.

[66] Robert Shaw, 1995.

[67] Decision Data Inc., *Puget Sound Housing Preference Study*. Kirkland, Washington, June 1994.

The intensity and activities of mixed-use centers vary. Neighborhood centers are oriented mainly toward serving daily needs of nearby residents. Urban centers, with higher densities of job-generating activities, are located on the main spines of the community's transit system.[62]

Centers feature shops and services at street level, in buildings that abut wide sidewalks and invite window shopping. The residences and offices concentrated on upper floors help to increase customer volumes for the center's businesses and provide the core ridership for transit. Residents of surrounding neighborhoods are linked to the center with convenient, safe bikeways and walkways.

Will People Drive Less?

Broadly, the goal of transit-oriented development is complete and integrated neighborhoods and communities that include housing, shops, work places, schools, parks and public facilities essential to the daily life of a resident…located within easy walking distance of each other.[63]

Given the convenient option to walk, bike or ride transit, people will leave their cars behind for many trips. "Compared to standard suburban development patterns, transit-oriented development is extremely effective in reducing vehicular travel demand," according to analysts with the US Environmental Protection Agency.[64] This conclusion is supported by research published recently by the California Air Resources Board that shows that existing communities that are pedestrian- and transit-oriented have substantially lower rates of auto usage than is found in typically auto-oriented suburban communities.[65]

Will People Choose to Live There?

Is the desire to live in a single-family home on a large lot in the suburbs too widespread and powerful for homes to sell in higher-density, mixed-use communities? The projects profiled later in this report indicate that, with good design, convenient shops and services nearby, and walkable, "green" streets, housing in higher-density developments can sell briskly.

Before Columbus Realty Trust began investing in the in-town housing market, they surveyed residents in the Dallas-Fort Worth region to find out how many would prefer renting in a mixed-use urban setting rather than suburban. They were astounded that more than 50 percent chose the mixed-use urban setting — yet no other company (at the time) was building for that market.[66]

In 1994, Decision Data Inc. surveyed residents of King, Kitsap, Pierce and Snohomish Counties on behalf of the Puget Sound Regional Council to find out if housing in higher density, mixed use communities would sell.[67]

Typical surveys ask people about one thing at a time: do you prefer a single-family or multi-family home?, do you prefer a large lot in the suburbs or smaller lot in the city? Decision Data took a market research approach instead, one that recognizes that "individuals evaluate more than one attribute of a product at one time." The "product" in this

[68] Decision Data Inc., 1994.

survey was not simply a housing unit, but housing within a neighborhood. The survey tested people's preferences for various combinations of 18 housing and neighborhood attributes.

Support for this "neighborhood context" approach is found in the 1992 *National Housing Survey* conducted by Fannie Mae. It found that, for many people, home ownership is even more important than the type of home, and that most people would prefer an average house in a good neighborhood to a good house in an average neighborhood.

The Decision Data survey of residents of central Puget Sound found that 76 percent of the respondents would choose a single-family home over a townhouse or a home in a multi-family building, all other factors being equal. However, when tempered against other housing and neighborhood attributes, only 7 percent of respondents would not trade off the single-family home for some combination of other positive attributes! More specifically, the survey found:[68]

- For 27 percent of the respondents, home ownership was the most important consideration. By creating more diverse housing types and affordable ownership opportunities, compact communities could attract many of these people.
- Another 18 percent consider many features important to where they choose to live and are likely to be attracted to compact communities that mitigate higher densities with parks, good schools, good transit and other amenities.
- For 17 percent, good schools and low crime rates were far and away the most important consideration. If a community invests in schools and safety in its denser neighborhoods, some of these people would be likely to live there.
- A group of 3 percent prefer apartment or condiminium living and view single-family housing negatively.
- For 28 percent, single-family housing is strongly preferred, but in certain circumstances they could choose a townhouse over a single-family home. They would be unlikely candidates for higher density housing, but may choose single-family homes within compact communities.
- The final group of 7 percent regards all housing other than single-family home negatively.

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[69] Decision Data Inc., 1994.

[70] Washington State Energy Office, *Municipal Strategies to Increase Pedestrian Travel*, 1994.

[71] Regional Plan Association, *Redesigning the Suburbs: Turning Sprawl Into Centers*. New York, New York, August 1994.

[72] C-Tran, *A New Way to Grow: Building Communities for People*, Vancouver, Washington, 1995.

[73] Washington State Energy Office, *Municipal Strategies to Increase Pedestrian Travel*, WSEO #94-211, Olympia, Washington, August 1994.

[74] Wolfgang S. Homburger, editor, *Transportation and Traffic Engineering Handbook*. 2nd edition,Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1982.

Reducing crime in compact communities and centers would cause the greatest shift in the acceptability of higher density living to suburbanites, attracting away over half of those preferring suburbs.[69] Crime in centers can be reduced both through greater investment in public safety and through design that encourages "eyes on the street" with buildings, windows, and balconies overlooking streets.[70]

Roma Design Group

Designing streetscapes for people, highlighted with distinct public spaces, nurtures community identity.

B) Retrofitting Techniques for Creating Livable Communities

Many of the early shining examples of neo-traditional developments, for example, Seaside, Florida, the Kentlands in Maryland, and Laguna West in California, were planned and built on farmland or other natural lands. According to the Regional Plan Association in New York, "…to date, the 'New Urbanists' have paid little attention to how most of the existing suburban landscape — the shopping centers, office parks, and subdivisions could be transformed by their insights."[71]

That is beginning to change, as a growing number of local governments, planning organizations, academics, and developers are answering the call to guide new development into existing, auto-oriented communities in ways that improve the viability of the pedestrian and transit environments. Exciting new strategies are emerging for transforming suburbs from auto-dominated zones into complete communities.

In its excellent guidebook, *A New Way to Grow: Building Communities for People*,[72] Clark County's transit agency, C-Tran, explains how growth can work to improve the livability of sprawling communities. C-Tran's three ingredients for success are design, density, and diversity. Transit-oriented development aims to combine a diversity of land uses in dense clusters, with design that works for pedestrians.

Mark Garity

"Traffic circles" slow traffic and can help beautify neighborhoods.

Design for pedestrians begins with a recognition that the streets are for everyone. In the design of most of our existing roadways, the needs of the automobile have been the driving concern. Auto-oriented design, however, conflicts with the needs of walkers, bicyclists and transit riders. In contrast, pedestrian-oriented streets support co-existence between various transportation modes by slowing cars down around activity centers and concentrations of people.

The most important factor for pedestrians is the speed of vehicles. High-speed traffic is intimidating for people ~~on foot because it increases road noise~~, shortens reac-

[75] Washington State Energy Office, *Municipal Strategies to Increase Pedestrian Travel*, 1994; C-Tran, *A New Way to Grow: Building Communities for People*, 1995; Andrew Clarke and Michael J. Dornfeld, *Traffic Calming, Auto-Restricted Zones and Other Traffic Management Techniques - Their Effects on Bicycling and Pedestrians.* FHWA National Bicycling and Walking Study, Case Study No.19, USDOT, FHWA-PD-93-028, January 1994.

tion times for drivers and makes them less likely to yield to pedestrians.[73] Drivers travel faster on roads that are designed wide, that lack sharp turns, and that allow the driver to see a longer distance ahead.[74]

Pedestrian-Friendly Toolbox

There are several proven techniques for designing pedestrian-friendly streets. Some of these include:[75]

- Narrower streets, lined with street trees, "scale-down" the street and encourage drivers to move more slowly.
- Speed tables are like speed bumps, but wider and more effective at forcing cars to slow down as they approach a pedestrian zone.
- Traffic circles, circular raised islands centered within intersections that can be planted with trees and other vegetation, slow cut-through traffic in residential areas and reduce injury accidents.
- Wide and continuous sidewalks are essential for comfortable and convenient walking.
- Street furniture turns sidewalks into living space, providing people a variety of places to sit, both open and sheltered, from which to talk or watch the activity on the street. Good design and location of planters and lightposts, murals on large walls, and fountains also help bring streets to life.
- Public spaces are crucial to a vibrant street. They can provide focal points where people can read, talk, and play, they can soften the street with natural features, and they can help define a community or neighborhood's identity.
- Curb bulb-outs, sidewalk extensions at the corners of intersections, make crossing streets safer by shortening the crossing distance. Bulb-outs provide a clear visual signal of the crosswalk to approaching drivers and makes waiting pedestrians more visible.

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[76] Snohomish County Transportation Authority (Sno-Trans), *A Guide to Land Use and Public Transportation, Volume II: Applying the Concepts*, Lynnwood, Washington, December 1993.

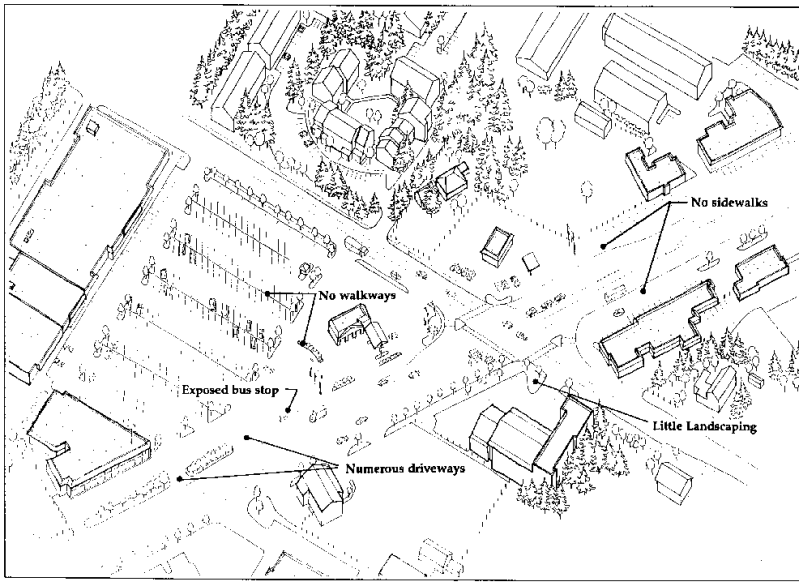
[77] City of Olympia Planning Department, "Definitions Related to the Draft Villages and Centers Ordinance," *Draft Olympia Unified Development Code*. Olympia, Washington, February 1995.

- "Neckdowns," landscaped islands that extend from the curb onto the roadway, often lining up with parallel parking lanes, can also be used to narrow and beautify the street.

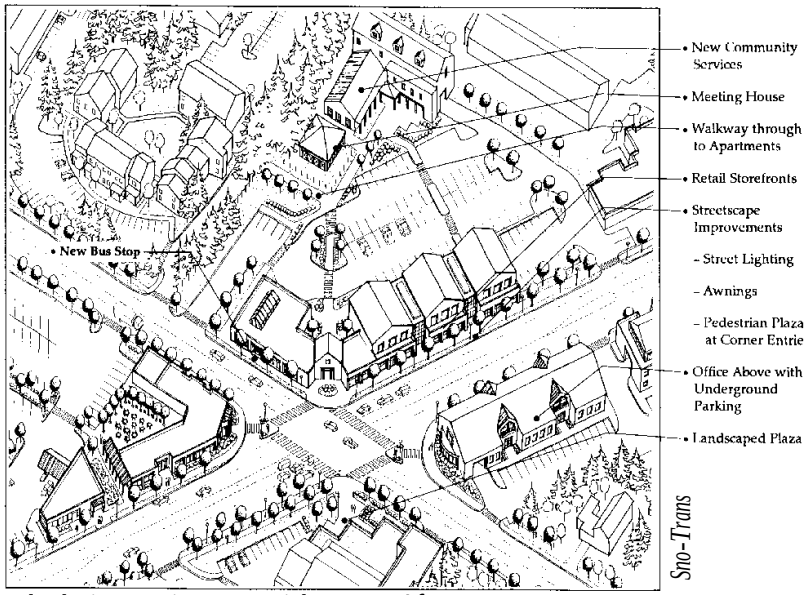
- Use of an alternative road surface texture at crosswalks, such as brick, reinforces the message that pedestrians belong in the intersection.

- On-street parking can provide a buffer between people on the sidewalk and road traffic. It can be used to narrow streets that are too wide, while allowing off-street parking lots to be smaller. However, bike circulation must be taken into account when adding on-street parking.

Redeveloping a strip commercial area — Before



Over time, an auto-dominated strip commercial area can be converted into a pedestrian-oriented center.



Redeveloping a strip commercial area — After

The layout of buildings on commercial sites can help to create a pedestrian-friendly place. Buildings should directly abut the sidewalk, rather than forcing pedestrians to cross parking lots to get to building entrances. Parking can be placed behind, to the side or underneath buildings that open directly on the street. "Curb cuts" where cars spill over sidewalks to enter commercial sites should be limited in width and frequency. Covered walkways increase comfort by shielding pedestrians from rain or hot sun. Walkway routes among buildings and from the surrounding neighborhoods should be as direct and protected from cars as possible.[76]

Communities and neighborhoods can also adopt design guidelines to ensure that new buildings and renovations offer a welcoming face to the street and are compatible with the surrounding architecture. The design guidelines should also aim to increase the visual interest of a building's street facade, encouraging architectural elements, such as windows, balconies, and entries, that help "create a complementary pattern or rhythm, dividing large buildings into smaller identifiable pieces."[77]

[78] Richard K. Untermann, *Linking Land Use and Transportation: Design Strategies to Serve HOVs and Pedestrians*. Washington State Department of Transportation, Report No. WA-RD 278.1, June 1991.

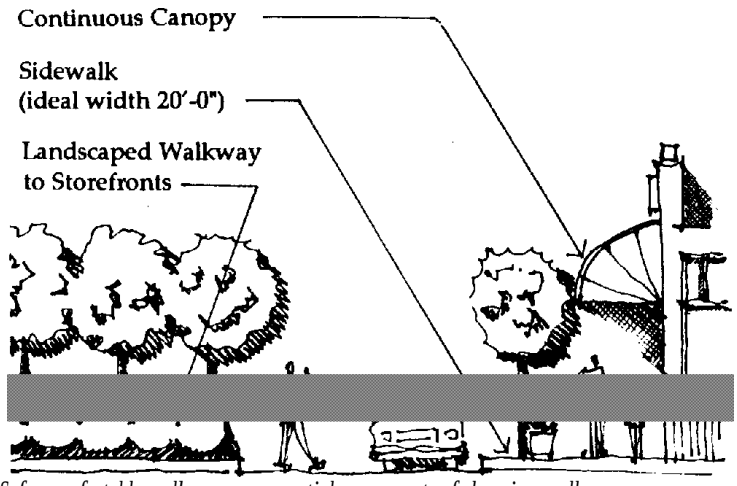
Different parts of sprawling communities call for different design solutions, so redesign strategies will vary depending on the type of site and the intensity of use envisioned for its future. On strip commercial arterials, "Centers" located at major cross streets can become focal points for intensive, mixed-use developments. Large shopping malls can be redesigned with additional buildings on the perimeter to "bridge" the sea of parking and add offices and housing. Neighborhood commercial centers will seek to serve mainly the nearby residents. In town centers, housing is often underrepresented, and new housing downtown will increase foot traffic and sales for downtown merchants. Strategies specific to these four types of areas are briefly described next.

Mark Noble

People on foot look and feel like they do not belong in oversized parking lots.

Redeveloping Strip Commercial

The arterials that connect our suburbs to cities and to each other usually develop long strips of commercial uses, a jumble of car lots and service stations, fast food restaurants, mini-malls, warehouses and offices, all laid out for easy automobile access. Buildings are separated from the street and the sidewalk (if there is one) by parking. Defined walkways from the sidewalk to the entrance, and between adjacent buildings, are often nonexistent. The "strip" layout creates longer distances between businesses, making it difficult to visit several stores on foot. High traffic speeds and a barren landscape lacking vegetation make most strip commercial arterials very unpleasant for people on foot.



Sno-Trans

Safe, comfortable walkways are essential components of shopping mall redevelopment.

Professor Richard Untermann of the University of Washington examined a 9-mile section of Highway 99 north of Seattle as a case study of how the redevelopment of major "strip commercial" arterials might proceed.[78] Untermann proposes that the arterial be redevelopment over time by establishing mixed-use Centers at major cross streets about a mile apart. The centers would be the focal point for more intensive retail, residential, and commercial land uses with strong pedestrian- and transit-friendly features.

[79] Snohomish County Transportation Authority (Sno-Trans), *A Guide to Land Use and Public Transportation, Volume II: Applying the Concepts*, Lynnwood, Washington, December 1993.

[80] Rich Untermann, University of Washington, *Reshaping Our Suburbs: Linking Land Use and Transportation to better serve pedestrians, bicycle and transit.* The Bullitt Foundation, Seattle, Washington, 1995.

At these centers, Untermann envisions new retail buildings next to the street, with a window-shopping orientation. The buildings include one or more stories above the ground floor with housing and/or offices to increase the land-use intensification at the center and add to the daily pedestrian shopper volumes.

At the center, the arterial is narrowed, with on-street parking for instance, to slow traffic and allow safer crossing. Transit circulation is integrated. Along the corridors between centers, land uses can gradually incorporate high-density housing and offices, with quality bus shelters to link people with centers. Mini-malls along the strip can then evolve toward a neighborhood commercial orientation to serve more foot traffic.

The Snohomish County Transportation Authority, in its guide to land use and transportation design, offers a realistic phase-in scenario for redeveloping a commercial area. They show how, over 15 years, relatively small, strategic investments by public agencies and existing businesses can stimulate new development and the gradual evolution of a pedestrian and transit-friendly center.[79] However, the report may actually overstate the difficulty of redevelopment; many of the successful projects profiled in the next section carried out comprehensive site redesigns in much shorter periods of time.

Redeveloping Shopping Malls

The typical large suburban shopping center is separated from the street by hundreds of feet of parking lot. It lacks walkways through the parking lot, to the transit stop, and to adjacent residential neighborhoods. Ironically, once people make it inside an enclosed shopping mall, the space is completely oriented to the pedestrian.[80]

To redevelop shopping malls, the pedestrian, friendly environment inside must be extended outside. The addition of new buildings can be used, not only to add housing and offices to increase foot traffic, but to frame new streets scaled to people on foot. Typically, parking now spread over very large surface lots can be accomodated in parking structures, so that a new site layout can be formed from the old parking lot. As a starting point, new buildings placed on the outside perimeter next to the arterials will help "bridge" the vast expanse of oversized parking lots. The remaining parking can be organized more tightly to slow down vehicle movements.

City of Mill Creek

The City of Mill Creek envisions this new Town Center for the community

[81] Donald C. Shoup, "An opportunity to reduce minimum parking requirements. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, v61, #1, Winter 1995, pp.14-28.

[82] Snohomish County Transportation Authority, 1993.

Cities have typically required shopping centers to provide too much parking. A 1982 study by the Urban Land Institute provides the basis for most cities' shopping center parking requirements. The requirement is that enough parking be provided to serve parking needs at the 20th busiest hour of the year, which "leaves spaces vacant more than 99 percent of the time that a shopping center is open for business, and leaves at least half of the spaces vacant at least 40 percent of the time," according to parking expert Donald Shoup. The 20th hour standard was not justified by any cost-benefit analysis, and the ULI cites only a 15-year-old textbook which severely criticized the concept.[81]

Section 3:
Project Profiles

Wide, distinct walkways also need to be established for safe pedestrian circulation throughout the site. Landscaping can be used to further visually differentiate the walkways from the parking lot in a way that adds beauty to the site. As mentioned previously, awnings around buildings and covered walkways linking transit stops to buildings are important for sheltering pedestrians from the elements.[82] A transit stop must be relocated for maximum convenience to the entrances of the buildings.

Redeveloping Residential Neighborhoods

Neighborhood centers, with small shops and services for the convenience primarily of residents, along with the main neighborhood transit stop, will allow more people to do more by walking rather than driving. Neighborhood centers are excellent places for a public gathering space, a neighborhood bulletin board, a play area, or other special community desires. These centers can be established at key intersections, or evolve from existing neighborhood focal points such as schools, churches, parks, or museums.

Residents also need to be able to walk safely and comfortably through the neighborhood. This requires a continuous network of sidewalks with direct routes to transit stops, the neighborhood center, and other destinations. Proven measures to calm traffic and beautify the neighborhood are also very important.

The Importance of Town Centers

Town centers, as the social heart of a town, are crucial to a pedestrian-friendly community. The downtowns of many of our communities are suffering, due in no small part to suburban sprawl and the rise of shopping malls on the urban fringes which have pulled infrastructure resources and economic and social vitality away from the town core.

Town centers have the potential to absorb a large amount of the population increases forecast for the next 20 years in ways that increase their vitality and status as the social heart of town. Town centers typically include shopping and employment, but most could benefit from a much higher density of residences. Adding housing, along with good public spaces and a pedestrian-friendly streetscape, will help restore vitality to the businesses and social life of town centers.

It is important to know *how* to redevelop auto-dominated areas in ways that will improve the surrounding neighborhoods. It is also crucial that model projects *that have in fact* redeveloped auto-oriented places be identified and their stories circulated. Both developers and lenders rely on past success as a guide to the viability of prospective projects. The next section profiles several projects that demonstrate that with attention to design details and the needs of the neighborhood, redevelopment projects can be very economically viable.

Section 3: Project Profiles

The successful redevelopment projects profiled here include several examples where the site owner or developer took the initiative. In some, the city initiated the project, and in most it played an important role. Transit agencies helped initiate two of these projects. In some, the residents of the neighborhood were extensively involved in shaping the project, and in one of these projects they are the driving force.

Each of these projects share a few common characteristics. These include:

- A mixed use center:

Rhys Roth

Looking from the commercial area toward the community center and residential area.

Most parking for the Ralphs grocery store is underground.

Each project contributes to creation of a place where a mix of residential, commercial, and public spaces are clustered within easy walking distance of each other.

- Pedestrian-friendly: Each has helped create comfortable, often vibrant, places for people to walk, rest, gather, and play — in several cases, from dying shopping centers and their barren parking lots.

- Integrated into the community: Each project adds missing elements to the neighborhood and, in many cases, were designed with great sensitivity to local architecture and the needs and desires of the community.

These projects have made signficant contributions to the livability of their communities. Specifically, they have:

- Revitalized decaying places. This has helped reverse the loss of community assets — city investments in infrastructure, private investments in businesses, and residents' investment in their homes — in and around these areas.

- Prevented suburban sprawl. Growth in the residential and commercial sectors has been channeled away from farmlands and forests and onto existing developed, but poorly utilized, lands.

- Reduced automobile dependency. These projects have brought more people close to daily activities to which they need access, and helped increase the viability

[83] Daniel Carlson and Maren Van Nostrand, *In-City Planned Development: Case Studies of Selected North American Cities.* A Report to the Committee for the Seattle Commons. University of Washington, Institute for Public Policy and Management, Seattle, Washington, December 1992; and Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Uptown District*, Local Government Commission, Sacramento, California, 1994.

[84] Carlson and Van Nostrand, 1992; and Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Uptown*

of public transit. Residents and workers at these centers can conveniently choose not to drive for many of their trips.

Rhys Roth

The residential area greets the surrounding neighborhoods with mature street trees, balconies and sidewalks.

District, 1994.

[85] *San Diego Union*, "Uptown: Hillcrest," March 30, 1990.

[86] Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Uptown District*, 1994; and Carlson and Van Nostrand, 1992.

[87] Carlson and Van Nostrand, 1992; and Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Uptown District*, 1994.

[88] Carlson and Van Nostrand, 1992; and Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Uptown District*, 1994.

Artwork highlights a pedestrian bridge that links a nearby neighborhood to the site.

Project Profile: The Uptown District

The Uptown District project converted a 14-acre abandoned Sears shopping center and parking lot in San Diego, California into a new mixed-use, pedestrian-oriented neighborhood of 500 residents. The city set the project in motion and guided it to completion, but both the developer and the neighborhood were crucial to the successful design.

The site, within San Diego's Hillcrest neighborhood, defines convenience for residents. Homes are clustered on one side of the site, and commercial spaces at the other. They are connected by a network of service alleys, courtyards and green spaces. Front doors with welcoming porches line streets and pathways. All residential parking is underground, leaving the homes free of the danger and the fumes of cars.

A grid network of pedestrian-only streets around a central urban park provide direct, pleasant routes to the shopping area. A community center (3,000 square feet) where neighbors hold meetings, parties, and special events is located in the middle of the neighborhood. Walking at 3 miles per hour, shops are about 1.5 minutes away from residents' front door; the grocery store is 2.5 minutes; cultural and entertainment facilities are about 3 minutes away and the nearest park less than a minute away.[83]

The homes include 20 townhouses, 290 "flats", and 10 artists' lofts. Some of the artists' studios and apartments reside above retail shops. The 1- and 2-bedroom homes range in size from 652 to 1249 square feet.[84]

A Ralph's grocery store anchors the commercial end of the Uptown District. Although Ralph's is a supermarket chain, this store breaks the conventional rules. The 42,500 sq ft market has no big sign on the arterial to draw in drivers, it is not flanked by a large parking lot and it is designed to be inauspicious. It relies on Uptown's pedestrian-oriented "main street edge of shops" to draw people in from the street. The grocery benefits from this flow of customers and from its loyal base of neighborhood customers. It is landscaped and designed to fit in with Uptown's architecture and its small surface parking lot is

[89] Carlson and Van Nostrand, 1992.

[90] Jim McMillan, principal, Oliver McMillan, San Diego, California. Personal communication, June 1995.

[91] Carlson and Van Nostrand, 1992.

[92] *San Diego Union*, 1990.

[93] Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Uptown District*, 1994.

[94] *San Diego Union*, "Uptown: Hillcrest," March 30, 1990.

landscaped and comfortable for pedestrians. Most of the parking (115 spaces) is below ground, with a conveyor to transport people and shopping carts from the store to their cars below.

The team that developed the project, Oliver McMillan/Odmark and Thelan (OM/OT), drew design themes from a photo survey they conducted of the architecture of surrounding communities. The buildings are a mix of sizes, textures, and colors. "We tried to provide a sense…that the project is a diverse gathering of architectural images built over a number of years," according to Michael Labarre of SGPA Architecture, which worked on building design.[85]

The project actually came to fruition quite rapidly. In May of 1986, the city of San Diego bought the site for a library. When the city decided to site the library nearer to downtown, attention turned to redeveloping the site in another positive way. A Blue Ribbon Committee was formed to involve the community in crafting guidelines for the city to use in judging proposals from developers. As a result, in December 1987, the city requested proposals for creating a mixed use, pedestrian friendly neighborhood with a major grocery store. When the city selected OM/OT's proposal, the firm bought the site from the city for about $10.5 million. The grand opening of the grocery store was just two years after the city issued its request for proposals, and the entire project was constructed by 1991.[86]

Rhys Roth

The Mercado Apartments include 144 units of affordable housing, a child care center, a community meeting facility, and a "Head Start" space for 40 children.

Residents and neighborhood groups, including the Hillcrest Business Association, Uptown Community Planners, and University Heights Community Association played a major role. OM/OT ran planning workshops open to community groups called "Project Head Start," using the ideas to craft their winning proposal. In all, the Uptown plan emerged from 35 separate community meetings. Once a specific plan for the site was agreed to, developers were able to proceed rapidly to construction.[87]

The final design reflected neighborhood desires in several ways. The desire of neighbors for both a supermarket and a pedestrian-oriented, human-scale development, are "two contradictory elements that have not been resolved before — until Uptown District was built." To please neighbors, OM/OT also added studio apartments, and built higher quality commercial buildings (Ralph's grocery cost $41/square foot to build rather than

[95] Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Uptown District*, 1994.

[96] *Source for this profile (except where noted): City of San Diego Redevelopment Agency*, Barrio Logan: Project Summary for the FTA's Livable Communities Initiative. *San Diego, California, 1995.*

the typical $31/square foot). Because home ownership is a community goal, residents that rented during first two phases were given right of first refusal when the units went on the market.[88]

City agencies played an active role in bringing the project to fruition. They rezoned the site from commercial to mixed use residential and relaxed the supermarket site criteria to allow the creative design. They convinced the supermarket to go with underground parking and to forego the standard big sign on the arterial.[89] The city also rebuilt a pedestrian bridge over an impassable roadway to link a nearby neighborhood to the site. The bridge is highlighted with artwork designed around quotations from famous thinkers that reflect on the value of walking.

Rhys Roth

A long-time community goal was realized when a public park was created on port land giving residents access to San Diego Bay.

Great American Savings Bank provided $12.1 million in loans on the $66 million project based on condition that the city expedite permitting for the agreed plan.[90]

Three months after the project was completed, all of the residential units were occupied, as well as 70 percent of the commercial space.[91] Originally, the homes were intended as rentals, "But there were just too many people coming in wanting to buy," according to OM/OT's Becky Rader, so the developers decided to sell about three-quarters of the units.[92] Remarkably, the Ralph's supermarket has exceeded revenue projections by 25-30 percent. The project also created opportunities for local business; of 35 total businesses in Uptown, 32 are small businesses and only six are franchises.[93]

Almost immediately, new mixed-use development followed Uptown into the neighborhood with new apartments, offices, retail, and entertainment uses. By March 1990, 15 other projects in the surrounding neighborhoods were underway or in advance planning.[94]

The Uptown District project has transformed a parking lot into a vibrant and dense neighborhood, well-integrated into the surrounding community. If the entire city of San Diego was built at Uptown's residential density, 86 percent of the city's land area would be free of urbanization.[95]

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[97] Richard Juarez, Director of Community Development, Metropolitan Area Advisory Committee. Personal communication, June 1995.

[98] Richard Juarez, 1995.

[99] Richard Juarez, 1995.

Project Profile: Barrio Logan

The Barrio Logan neighborhood is the site of a remarkable community-led series of projects that may unfold as one of the country's most exciting transit-oriented redevelopment efforts.[96] No other project profiled here is more closely integrated with the needs of the neighborhood.

Barrio Logan, less than two miles from downtown San Diego, California, was for decades the center of the city's Mexican-American community. Then in the late 1960s and early 1970s, national and local government actions tore into the neighborhood. Both Interstate 5 and the Coronado Bay Bridge, stacked on concrete pillars, were laid directly over the neighborhood. At the same time, City zoning encouraged industrial uses within the neighborhood, which brought junkyards next door to houses, along with truck traffic around warehouse and shipping facilities.

Freeway pillars in Chicano Park are beautified with remarkable murals celebrating Mexican-American heritage and the neighborhood's history of organizing.

The neighborhood, one of the poorest in the city, relies heavily on transit. Only 40 percent of residents drive alone, compared to the city-wide rate of 70 percent, yet the neighborhood's streets lack sidewalks and healthy street trees.

In the early 1970s the community began to organize to protect and rebuild the neighborhood. Protests against a proposed highway patrol substation led eventually to Chicano Park instead, distinguished by remarkable murals celebrating Chicano heritage.

In the mid-1970s, the city initiated development of a Comprehensive Plan that would cover Barrio Logan, but encountered strong community opposition. The city then took a new tack: listening to the residents and businesses in the community to facilitate a neighborhood-centered vision for the future. Almost 20 years later, that vision is finally being realized.

Several neighborhood priorities have already been met. In the early 1980s, a city trolley stop was added to the neighborhood. More recently, a public park was completed by the San Diego Unified Port District that gives the neighborhood access to San Diego Bay, less than one-half mile away. In 1991, the city established the Barrio Logan Redevelopment Project area, and began to implement three major neighborhood priority projects.

[100] Richard Juarez, 1995.

The Mercado Apartments, completed in 1994, is the first major new residential development in the neighborhood in 50 years. Mercado is an attractive 144-unit affordable housing development that achieves a density of 32 housing units per acre. Integrated into the project are vital community services: a child care center, a community meeting facility, a social service office, and "Head Start" space for 40 children.

Mercado also includes space for the project's non-profit developer, the Metropolitan Area Advisory Committee (MAAC), to use for job training, family counseling, and coordinating in-home day care. The director of the MAAC's Division of Community Development, Richard Juarez, was born in Barrio Logan. The project architect, too, originates from the neighborhood and now serves with the firm that built San Diego's Uptown District project.

Halcyon Associates

Columbus Realty Trust is bringing housing and revitalization to the State-Thomas neighborhood (foreground) which was devastated by land speculators in the 1970s.

A program called Youth Build that trains young gang members in construction trades, recruited local youth to help on the Mercado Apartments. According to Juarez, the Mercado facilities and housing have not suffered gang-related damages that are common in other local buildings. Many of the young workers recalled that, as 3- and 4-year-olds, they watched their parents engage in the neighborhood organizing activities that led to the Mercado revitalization.[97]

The Mercado Apartments project cost $12.3 million to build and was financed using a variety of sources. It drew on $5 million in federal tax credits, a $3 million permanent loan from Bank of America, and $850,000 from the Federal Home Loan Bank's affordable housing program. The rest came from long-term loans from city agencies.[98]

Groundbreaking on the next major project — the Mercado Commercial Center — is scheduled for January 1996, and is planned for completion one year later.[99] The center will fulfill the long-time community goal of a low-cost supermarket in the neighborhood (the nearest major grocery is now 3.5 miles away). The 100,000 square foot center will also feature neighborhood retail, Hispanic specialty shops through which neighborhood artisans can sell crafts, space for vendor carts, a Mexican art museum, and a performance theatre and classrooms for the community college district.

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[101] Rick Loessberg, "In-Town Housing", *Economic Development Commentary*, Vol.18, #4, Winter 1995.

[102]

[103] Tom Cole, Economic Development Analyst, City of Dallas Economic Development Department. Personal communication, July 1995.

[104] Rick Loessberg, 1995.

[105] "People to Watch in '95," *D: The Magazine of Dallas*, January 1995.

[106] Columbus Realty Trust, 1994 3rd Quarter Report. Dallas, Texas, 1994.

The Mexican grocery chain, "Gigante," will anchor the Commercial Center because the company has exhibited a stronger interest in serving the Mexican-American population than U.S. stores. According to Juarez, "We're building on the culture of the community. (The Commercial Center) is going to attract Mexican people from throughout the region. We are marketing to our culture and people that want to experience our culture." [100]

It appears likely that another community goal will soon be realized: the expansion of Chicano Park to connect the Commercial Center with the new housing development.

Next to the trolley station, which is less than two blocks from both the new apartments and the planned commercial center, San Diego's Community Redevelopment Agency is seeking to buy a parcel of land to build a mixed-use development, integrated with the community. It will include a public plaza, a neighborhood police station, a restaurant and a second child care center. The city is also investing in street improvements to divert through traffic from local streets, add street trees, and improve sidewalks in the neighborhood.

The central role of Barrio Logan residents in rebuilding their community is now firmly established. Recently, through the city's "Livable Neighborhoods" program, for example, a bilingual workshop facilitated neighborhood thinking on how city services can be coordinated to most effectively serve the neighborhood. A follow-up workshop examined how the physical design of the trolley station area and business corridor can affect issues of concern to the neighborhood.

Halcyon Associates

Distinctive architecture and pedestrian-friendly design help create a positive identity for high-density housing.

[107] Robert Shaw, CEO, Columbus Realty Trust, presentation at the Local Government Commission conference, "Putting Our Communities Back on Their Feet: The Next Step," Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles California, May 4-5, 1995.

[108] Rick Loessberg, 1995.

[109] Gregory Kallenberg, "Creating an Urban Dallas Neighborhood." *The New York Times*, July 16, 1995, p21.

[110] Rick Loessberg, 1995.

[111] Rick Loessberg, 1995.

[112] Gregory Kallenberg, 1995.

[113] Tom Cole, 1995.

Project Profile:
The State-Thomas Neighborhood

Columbus Realty Trust's residential developments in the State-Thomas neighborhood within two miles of downtown Dallas, Texas, are helping to revitalize a neighborhood devastated 20 years before. Once a vibrant African-American working-class neighborhood, in the 1970s land speculators cleared 70 out of 100 acres, anticipating high-rise development that never occurred.[101]

Columbus has built about 1,500 apartment homes within and adjacent to the State-Thomas area since 1989, attracting $4.5 million in city infrastructure investments to the neighborhood, and adding $38 million to the local tax base. Whereas the federal Urban Development Action Grant program leveraged about $4 of private investment for every $1 of public investment, [102] every dollar invested by the city in the State-Thomas area has generated about $10 of private investment.[103]

Columbus Realty Trust specializes in bringing housing into urban and suburban areas where there are plenty of jobs and a mix of activities, but not enough housing. Prior to State-Thomas, Columbus had built some 3,000 typical suburban units on the urban fringes. Columbus' CEO Robert Shaw, however, shifted Columbus' mission because he "did not feel that I was doing something that necessarily was in the best interest of the community. We were making money, but I did not get a sense that we were enhancing our built environment."[104]

Shaw's previous career, as a center for the National Football League's Dallas Cowboys (Columbus' Board includes former stars Roger Staubach and Jack Kemp), ended with a knee injury in 1981. Shaw proceeded to lead Columbus on a pathbreaking, profitable course that works to loosen the grip of auto dependency. According to Shaw:

> *"Dallas is connected by cars. Most people drive from parking lot to parking lot. I want to create communities where residents can access local amenities — restaurants, theatres, and recreational centers — without having to get in the car and drive."*[105]

The company's core strategy is "to own a dense concentration of (housing) units within walking distance of one another…allowing the company to provide a level of amenities and services unachievable at stand alone properties".[106]

The company has worked to nurture the pedestrian environment with narrow streets, lots of public spaces, quality architecture and interesting building facades.[107] Columbus' building designs run counter to the "cookie-cutter" design of almost all of Dallas' multi-

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[114] Kyle Crews, Halcyon Associates. Personal communication, June 1995.

[115] Todd J. Gillman, "Changing area holds yearly party." *The Dallas Morning News*, June 23, 1994, p36A.

[116] Steve Brown, "Columbus Realty buys Hackberry Creek project." The Dallas Morning News, August 14, 1994, p4H.

[117] Steve Brown, Real Estate Editor, "Columbus Realty Trust buying, expanding Las Colinas complex." *The Dallas Morning News*, April 15, 1994, p2D.

[118] Florida Center for Community Design + Research, *Transportation, Land Use and Sustainability*.

family housing. Their New Orleans, Mediterranean, and Texana architecture incorporates elements of the historical architecture of the area around State-Thomas. Period street lights and street furniture embellish the sidewalks, and parking is concentrated in multi-floor garages to avoid sprawling parking lots.[108] A variety of housing opportunities are offered; rents range from an affordable $410 a month up to $2,000 a month at the very high end.[109]

The city of Dallas adopted a plan envisioning State-Thomas as an "urban village" with high-density, mid-rise apartments and mixed use buildings. They backed it up with a commitment to spend $20 million to link public improvements to specific developments, an investment the city would recover through tax increment financing (the added tax revenue resulting from greater property values in the area). The city required that developers benefiting from these funds build and landscape according to special design standards. Columbus' CEO Shaw believes the design standards "have played a key role in the success" of their development projects, by helping to ensure quality buildings and to create a positive identity for the area that softens the impact of higher density living.[110]

The popularity of Columbus' housing is evidenced by the 97 percent occupancy rate, in spite of these projects being built immediately after a period of 18 percent vacancies in the Dallas region. To Shaw, this success is only natural: "If you build a product that meets people's needs, why would they drive 20 miles when they can find it close to their jobs?"[111]

Smith & Knibbs, Inc.

Mizner Park replaced the old Boca Mall (foreground), a symbol of the downtown's decay in the mid-1980s.

Evidence of the revitalization includes a doubling of the population in the area, which had previously been considered one of Dallas' most dangerous and unlivable areas. It now boasts new restaurants, shops, and the city's largest concentration of art galleries.[112] Columbus' projects have also helped catalyze new interest in fostering housing and street life in the downtown area, including several new housing proposals from other developers. Tom Cole, an economic development analyst for the city, believes that the residential revitalization will create many new jobs and help keep companies in Dallas' downtown.[113]

University of South Florida, Center for Urban Transportation Research, October 1994.

[119] John Shuff, "Mizner Park: The Flap, The Facts, The Future," *Boca Raton*, March/April 1992.

[120] Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Mizner Park*, 1994.

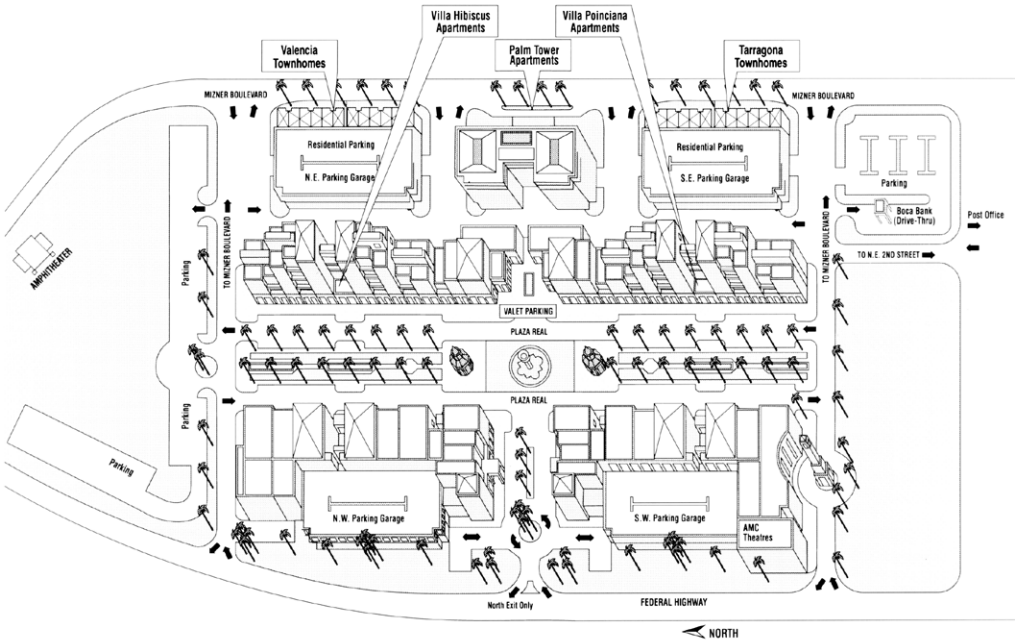
[121] Dean Schwanke, *Project Reference File: Mizner Park*. The Urban Land Institute, Washington, DC, April-June 1992.

[122] Dean Schwanke, 1992.

Columbus has worked to integrate new development into the fabric of the original community. An honorary board of long-time community residents advises the company on its State-Thomas projects.[114] The neighborhood still throws an annual party where old-time residents and the new can mingle. At last year's, Robert Prince, author of a history of Dallas from the perspective of an African American, told a reporter that he is "elated" by the revitalization. "Many people have come here and refurbished these homes, and they look better than they did in the '30s when I was a boy."[115]

In 1994, Columbus Realty Trust began buying and constructing housing in the suburban jobs center of Las Colinas. They quickly assembled 1,400 housing units in Las Colinas' "Urban Center area[116], where Shaw estimates there are 30,000 jobs. "What is needed is more residential," he says.[117]

It is another bold step for Columbus. According to the Florida Center for Community Design and Research, "Las Colinas opposes virtually all of the principles of sustainability." It arose in the 1970s on 12,000 acres of ranch land between Dallas and Fort Worth, promoted as the "first city of the 21st century." The town is segmented by highways and golf courses. The 960-acre "Urban Center," however, does possess a dense mix of uses and "an extensive sidewalk and plaza system offer pedestrian access."[118] Housing could bring the



Crocker & Co.

In Mizner Park, shops, housing, and offices flank a grand public promenade. Parking is tucked in back in multi-story garages.

[123] Dean Schwanke, 1992.

[124] Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Mizner Park*, 1994.

[125] Walter H. Keller, Inc., *Districtwide Trip Generation Study*. Final Report, State Project No. 99004-1623, Coral Springs, Florida, March 1995.

[126] Florida Center for Community Design + Research, *Transportation, Land Use and Sustainability*. University of South Florida, Center for Urban Transportation Research, October 1994.

[127] Jo Ann E. Sklar, Marketing Director, Crocker & Company. Personal communication, July 1995.

center a complete mix of uses, while providing homes that might otherwise have replaced another rural ranch.

The State-Thomas projects are helping to revitalize a neighborhood hard hit by speculators in the 1970s, working to integrate into and enhance the existing community. By providing the one element, housing, underrepresented by the area's mix of uses, the projects have catalyzed tremendous amounts of both public and private investment in the area and inspired other developers to bring housing to downtown Dallas. The projects are also a vital counterweight to pressures for sprawl, providing housing without consuming undeveloped land, while reducing auto dependency by bringing people within an easy walk of many of their needs.

[128] John Shuff, "Mizner Park: The Flap, The Facts, The Future," *Boca Raton*, March/April 1992.

[129] Dean Schwanke, 1992; and John Shuff, "Mizner Park: The Flap, The Facts, The Future," *Boca Raton*, March/April 1992; and Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Mizner Park*, 1994.

[130] Dean Schwanke, *Project Reference File: Mizner Park*. The Urban Land Institute, Washington, DC, April-June 1992.

[131] John Shuff, "Mizner Park Revisitied," *Boca Raton*, March/April 1993.

[132] John Shuff, 1993.

[133] Dean Schwanke, 1992.

[134] Dean Schwanke, 1992.

Project Profile: Mizner Park

In Boca Raton, Florida, the Community Redevelopment Agency joined with Tom Crocker, a local developer to redevelop the Boca Raton Mall, a failing downtown shopping center surrounded by parking. In the mid-1980s, the old Mall was a symbol of downtown's decay. After the opening three miles away of "Town Center," a 1.3 million square foot giant mall, "downtown retail business was non-existent."[119]

The Boca Mall and its parking lots have now been replaced by Mizner Park. Mizner Park is an intense mixed-use center with shops, housing, and offices flanking a grand, tree-lined public promenade. The two narrow streets along this central linear plaza are covered in red brick pavers, with broad walkways that encourage people to stroll. The promenade's village green is furnished with gazebos, benches, and fountains. Two-thirds of the 28-acre site is public space.

Retail, mostly specialty stores, face onto the streets, as do the apartment balconies above. Mizner Park also features a cinema eight-plex, an ampitheatre, and seven restaurants, including outdoor dining that also looks onto the promenade.[120]

Mizner Park's architecture reflects Boca Raton's own design traditions, specifically adapting "the fanciful, highly articulated style of 1920s architect Addison Mizner."[121]

Most parking is in multi-story garages behind the four main mixed-use buildings. The garages are sunken and draped in landscaping, and are located to maximize "shared parking"; stalls used by office workers by day are used by movie-goers at night. Sharing reduced total parking needs by about 25 percent. On-street parking on the two plaza streets provides more spaces that also slow traffic and buffer pedestrians from the moving cars.[122]

Confounding convention, Mizner Park's 40 businesses are not visible to the cars on the adjacent arterials but are oriented to the pedestrian plaza. "The sense of place that has been created helps the project overcome the downside risks of its novel approach," according to the Urban Land Institute.[123]

Mizner Park currently houses about 480 residents. Residents and workers at Mizner Park can walk directly to many activities. They are a two minute walk from cultural and entertainment facilities, two minutes from the nearest park, less than a minute from retail and shopping, and three minutes from the nearest transit stop.[124]

The site is also "located in close proximity to the most densely developed residential areas of the city," including an older neighborhood of single family homes and high-rise condominiums. Also within walking distance are the city's municipal complex, which includes City Hall, the police station, the community center, a library, and a tennis center.[125]

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[135] Jo Ann E. Sklar, Marketing Director, Crocker & Company. Personal communication, July 1995.

[136] Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *Mizner Park*, 1994.

[137] John Shuff, 1993.

While Mizner Park is a premiere pedestrian environment within, most people must reach the project by auto, according to the Florida Center for Community Design and Research. The problem is that it lacks direct and pleasant walkways to the surrounding neighborhood and civic center. Mizner Park's pedestrian promenade and Main Street stop at either end of the site, and the bus stop is poorly connected to the project.[126] Future development plans, however, call for the extension of Mizner's Plaza Real beyond the site.[127]

By the early 1980s, this auto-oriented shopping center had failed. The original limestone and granite facades were incorporated into the Shirlington Village redevelopment.

Stewart Bros., Inc.

The birth of Mizner Park dates back to when Jamie Snyder became the volunteer head of the city's Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) in 1985. She immediately began to "seek out the talent and expertise in our town" to help in revitalization. The city's goal was a downtown where people can work, play, and live.[128]

In 1987, the CRA recommended that the city council seek to redevelop the Boca Mall to create a mixed-use complex. The following June, local developer Tom Crocker bought the site. He originally planned to demolish the mall, add infrastructure, and sell to commercial developers. But in order to better shape the outcome, the city encourage Crocker to build the site himself and retain responsibility for leasing it. In return, the CRA agreed to purchase the land from Crocker and lease it back to him to build and operate Mizner Park.

In response to some objections to the project in the community, Crocker requested that the city hold a referendum to guage support. In December of 1988, the City Council unanimously endorsed the Mizner Park proposal and submitted the CRA land purchase to the voters, who endorsed it 62 percent to 38 percent. Two years later, Mizner Park opened.[129]

The CRA's cost of $58 million for purchasing the site will be paid back through "tax increment financing," using the increased tax revenues that result from the more intensive use of the land. Crocker will pay $280,000 in rent a year for 10 years, and then a percentage of Mizner Park's revenue indefinitely.[130] This latter mechanism will "ensure that the city will have an unending source of revenues for operation and mainte-

Retail and office buildings frame Shirlington Village's Main Street.

TISARA, Inc.

[138] Kris Addington, Project Editor, Project Reference File: The Village at Shirlington. The Urban Land Institute, vol.19, no.20, Washington, DC, October-December 1989.

[139] Kris Addington, 1989.

[140] Kris Addington, 1989.

[141] Kris Addington, 1989.

[142] "Main Level Existing Lease Plan," The Village at Shirlington, Cigna Investments, Inc., owner. January 31, 1995.

[143] Louie Estrada, "Shirlington: It's Not a Close Secret," *The Washington Post*, December 11, 1993.

nance of the public improvements in downtown Boca Raton," according to John Shuff, former Chief Financial Officer of Capital Cities Communications.[131]

About 50 percent of the property taxes from Mizner Park are directed toward schools; $475,000 in 1992 and growing rapidly. The project yielded more than twice as much in property taxes in 1992 as the Boca Mall did in its last year of operation in 1988.[132]

Trammel-Crow

Glass-covered arcades connect the Main Street to parking structures.

Mizner Park's grand opening drew 20,000 people. Shops sold out of inventory and restaurants ran out of food during the first few weeks. By the time construction was complete, 90 percent of the retail space was already leased. Half of the initial 136 apartments were rented before construction and all were leased before opening day, with little marketing effort. According to the Urban Land Institute, "more apartments could and should have been built in the first phase, as the market has been surprisingly strong for this use."[133]

The major community criticism of the project is that the cultural arts uses have been slow to develop. The project is depending on arts organizations to obtain their own funds. Promoters of the project now believe this aspect was oversold to the public, in light of the fact that arts organizations can take many years to raise funds.[134]

According to Crocker, Mizner Park is fulfilling the key goal that city leaders envisioned for it: downtown revitalization. "While not without controversy, Mizner Park today is thriving," says Crocker, pointing out that a major department store is being added along with the International Museum of Cartoon Art as a cultural/entertainment anchor. "In addition," he says, "there are several significant downtown projects coming out of the ground in adjacent areas."[135]

Others agree. Today, Mizner Park is "easily the most frequented place in Boca Raton," points out the Center for Livable Communities.[136] According to Shuff, it "has transformed downtown into a social, cultural and economic center…a place that people converge upon to shop, eat, relax, or be entertained…a place where people live, work, and play. This project is an example of what the public and private sector working together can accomplish."[137]

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[144] Kris Addington, 1989.

[145] Kris Addington, 1989.

[146] Kris Addington, 1989.

[147] Estrada, 1993.

Project Profile: Shirlington Village

The Shirlington Village project transformed a failing 1940s auto-oriented shopping center located in Arlington, Virginia (a suburb of Washington, DC), into a vibrant mixed-use center focused around a pedestrian-oriented Main Street. Frequent bus service connects the site to Washington's excellent Metrorail system three miles away. Several garden-style apartments and high-rise residential buildings are within walking distance of the site.[138]

The project's first phase covered 16 acres, integrating the old shopping mall into the new retail and office buildings that frame the converted "Main Street." The original limestone and granite facades of the existing center were restored wherever possible. The street was enlivened with street furniture, special lightposts, colorful awnings, trees and lush plantings. Glass-covered arcades connect the Main Street to parking structures. On Main Street, an elaborate, recirculating fountain runs along the center median.[139]

Parks with play structures are very close to residences. *Chris Wuthman*

A multi-screen cinema creates foot traffic in the evening. The Village includes five food outlets, including three sit-down restaurants. Several tenants of the previous mall were retained, including a post office, dry cleaners, fabric store, and Best Products. At the request of the community, the developer incorporated and is subsidizing a grocery store on the plaza level. Events hosted by the Village include school art exhibits, arts and craft shows, and a wine festival.[140]

The original Village plan, created by RTKL Associates of Baltimore, includes 25 acres total, including a hotel, five office buildings, and 490 residential units around the shopping district.[141]

The Village currently includes over 280,000 square feet of retail, 92 percent of which is leased, as well as almost 65,000 square feet of office space.[142] There are now eight residential developments in close proximity, including several condominium buildings, with the Village's commercial Main Street serving as the center of the community. The area's housing has attracted a lot of young professionals and young couples without children.[143]

The project was initiated in 1984, when the Oliver Carr Company joined with the two local businessmen who owned the site to redevelop it. After considering conventional options, they chose to integrate the existing shopping center as the centerpiece of a mixed-use project.

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[148] Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *The Crossings*. Local Government Commission, Sacramento, California, 1994.

[149] Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, The Crossings, 1994.

[150] Alan Hess, "Enter the community of the next generation," *San Jose Mercury News*, January 1, 1995.

[151] Michael Percy, project manager, City of Mountain View Planning Department. Personal communication, July 1995

[152] Joe Scanga, Calthorpe Associates. Personal communication, July 1995.

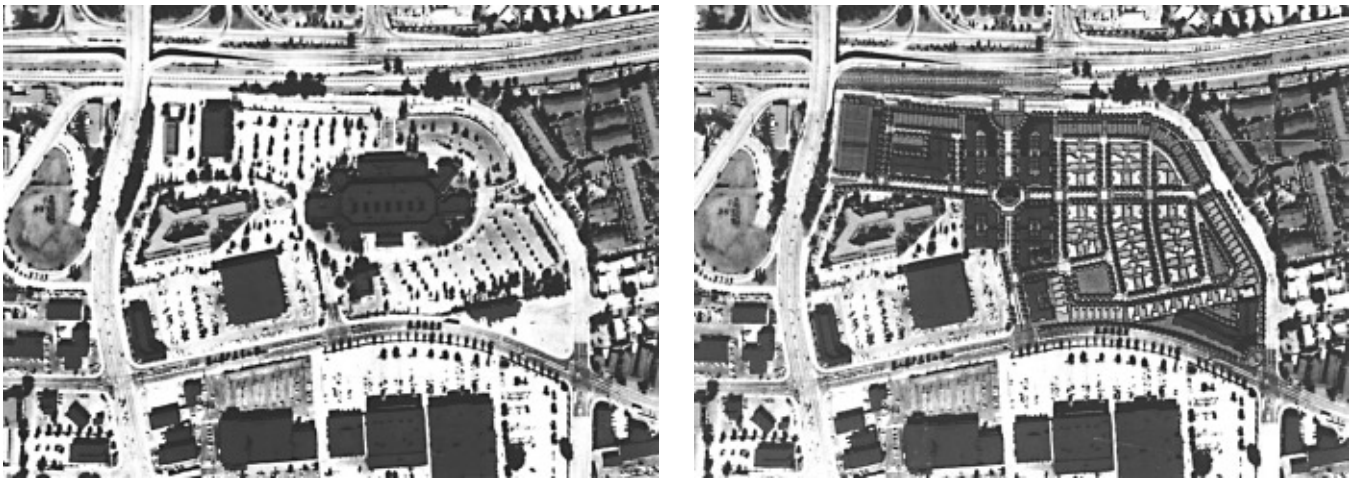
Preliminary plans were submitted in early 1984 and were approved later that year. Arlington County's commercial zoning was unusual for the mid-1980s in that it allowed mixed-use development. Construction began in 1985 with offices completed first in 1986 and retail completed in 1987.

The developers negotiated the details upfront with the community and public officials, such as the mix of uses and shared parking. They held periodic community meetings to discuss the project's progress and invite comments. The developer was required to improve the surrounding streets and sidewalks, improve utilities and place phone and electric lines underground, and to landscape the site.[144]

The renovation of existing buildings made the project more affordable, as did the savings on parking construction due to shared parking between uses. The developers used a conventional construction loan, which was replaced with a permanent mortgage when the project was 60 percent leased.[145]

Within 18 months, the first phase retail space was fully leased; the office space within six months.[146] More recently, property manager John O'Leary of Trammel Crow, a resident of Shirlington, told the *Washington Post*, "We've been very fortunate. Several of our shops here have been doing outstanding business."[147]

As one of the first projects to retrofit a dying shopping mall, Shirlington has been a great success. It showed that "recycling" of old malls can be economically viable, and it re-established the pedestrian-oriented Main Street as a design alternative to the typical mall



Calthorpe Associates

This aerial view shows the old retail mall surrounded by parking (at left) compared to the site plan for "The Crossings" neighborhood that is replacing it.

[153] Calthorpe Associates, *Old Mill Transit-Oriented Neighborhood*. San Francisco, 1995.

[154] Hess, 1995; "The Crossings - Price List", May 8, 1995; and Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *The Crossings*, 1994.

[155] Michael Percy, 1995.

[156] Michael Percy, project manager, City of Mountain View Planning Department. Personal communication, May 1995.

[157] Hess, 1995.

[158] Center for Livable Communities Model Projects, *The Crossings*, 1994.

surrounded by parking. It has also provided the high concentration of nearby residences with access to a mix of shopping and entertainment activities within walking distance, a key to making it easier for people to drive less.

Calthorpe Associates

Homes framed by porches, with garages set at the back of sites, present a friendly face to pedestrian-oriented, tree-lined streets.

[159] Joe Scanga, 1995.

[160] Michael Percy, 1995.

[161] Chris Kenrick, "American Dreams," *Palo Alto Weekly*, November 2, 1994.

[162] Chris Wuthman, TPG Development Corporation. Personal communication, August 1995.

[163] Hess, 1995.

[164] Michael Percy, August 1995.

Project Profile: The Crossings

"The Crossings" is an 18-acre project in Mountain View, California, that is redeveloping the site of a large shopping mall, surrounded by a parking lot, to create a mixed-income, pedestrian-oriented neighborhood built around a planned Cal-Train station.[148]

The Crossings was designed as a compact, mixed-use neighborhood with housing variety, a daycare, and small retail shops oriented to the transit station. The station is scheduled to open in late 1995. Calthorpe Associates designed the project, which is being built by TPG Development Corporation.

Rhys Roth

Del Norte Place replaced boarded-up buildings and empty lots with affordable housing, within walking distance of a rapid transit station.

When complete, the project is planned to house about 1,080 people in a mix of housing types: 130 small-lot single family homes, 42 townhouses, and 395 apartments. Community parks with play structures and open space are distributed throughout. There is a Safeway grocery store just across the street from the site.

Crossings' residents will have convenient walking access to a variety of activities and services. Based on the design, the average walk to shops and services will be 2.5 minutes; 3.5 minutes to a grocery; 2 minutes to a park; and 4 minutes to a recreation facility.[149]

The project softens high density (30 homes an acre at build-out) and makes it comfortable with good design. Streets are tree-lined and narrow, with short blocks compared to typical suburban residential streets, and narrowed further by on-street parking. Front doors of homes face the street and are framed by porches. Single-family home garages are set back on the site, rather than dominating the front of the house, which "opens up side yards for play, patio and sunlight." The architecture echoes "English Cottage coziness" and "the solid middle-class homes of Oakland and Palo Alto of the 1920s."[150]

As currently planned, the on-site retail will be minimal because of the abundance of retail shopping opportunities within walking distance. Recently, TPG requested to modify the approved plan to drop the on-site commercial space entirely, while lowering housing density slightly (to 25 units per acre).[151] Plans had called for on-site retail tailored to passengers waiting for the trains, small shops that sell such items as coffee, newspapers, flowers, and perhaps dry cleaning services. A multi-purpose community center, including a pool and a "tot lot," is also planned as part of the second phase of construction.[152]

The first phase of construction began in Fall 1994. It includes single family homes ranging from 3 bedroom units as small as 1,250 square feet to 4 bedrooms as big as 1,940 square feet.[153] There were 47 homes built by May 1995, that range from $269,000 up to

[165] Elyse Umlauf, "California heads down a new development track," *Building Design & Construction*, March 1995, pp56-60.

[166] Del Norte Place Brochure, 1995; John Stewart, President, The John Stewart Company. Personal communication, June 1995; Gerald Raycraft, El Cerrito Redevelopment Agency. Personal communication, August 1995; Val Menotti and Robert Cervero, *Transit-Based Housing in California: Profiles. Working Paper 638*, Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California at Berkeley, March 1995; and Bernick and Cervero, 1994.

[167] Mindy Walker, Del Norte Place Property Administrator, *Del Norte Place Apartments: Resident Profile*. El Cerrito, California, April 1995.

[168] Michael Bernick and Robert Cervero, *Transit-based Residential Development in the United States: A Review of Recent Experiences.* Federal Transit Admininstration, CA-26-7003-94-1, Washington, DC, March 1994.

[169] Gerald Raycraft, 1995.

$360,000. The average home in the county sells for $300,000. Apartments and townhouses, which are under construction in the summer of 1995, will provide affordable housing opportunities.[154]

The retrofit process began after the original shopping mall failed financially in 1991, and the city proposed a change in zoning from commercial to residential. During the public hearings on this rezoning, neighbors requested open space, lower height limits and low density.[155]

Neighbors argued that Mountain View has accepted more than its fair share of high density development, and that the city is deficient in open space. The Mountain View housing stock is two-thirds multi-family, and the city's average housing density is in fact comparatively high (about 15 units/acre, compared to 9 units/acre in the county). The area surrounding the Crossings site includes low-quality apartments built in the 50s and 60s, as well as nicer condominiums built in the 1970s.[156]

With 200,000 people expected to move into Santa Clara County in next 15 years,[157] the city convinced residents of the need to concentrate housing at transit facilities. The city created the opportunity for residents to shape the project to their liking. "Most of the final design elements are a result of the collaboration of citizens and the city. It was this teamwork that facilitated quick approval of the project," according to the Local Government Commission.[158]

When their first design proposal for the site was rejected by the City, TPG Development hired noted transit-oriented development designer Peter Calthorpe's firm to design a site tailored to the train station. Less than five months later, their plan was approved and construction began. When the old mall was demolished, much of the waste materials were classified as gravel and incorporated into the concrete slabs and porches of the new buildings.[159]

Because the land carried over $20 million in debt from the failed mall, developers needed to build single family homes first, for quick sale.[160] Of the 47 homes under construction, 30 had already sold by the end of October 1994 for occupancy between end of November and February.[161] At build-out, the project is expected to cost in excess of $75 million. TPG pieced together financing for the project from five different private sources.[162]

Residents have convenient access to a postal annex, optometrist, senior health clinic, deli, restaurants, and more.

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[170] John Stewart, 1995; and Bernick and Cervero, 1994.

[171] Bernick and Cervero, 1994.

[172] McCloud, 1992.

[173] Mindy Walker, Del Norte Place Property Administrator, *Del Norte Place Apartments: Resident Profile*. El Cerrito, California, April 1995.

[174] McCloud, 1992.

[175] John Stewart, 1995; and Gerald Raycraft, 1995.

[176] Tom Lochner, "El Cerrito eyes plans for film complex," *West County Times*, March 9, 1995; and Gerald Raycraft, 1995.

[177] Gerald Raycraft, 1995.

The early reviews have been good. According to Alan Hess of the *San Jose Mercury News*, "This is a must-see project for all South Bay developers and city planning officials. Excellent design can pay off without jeopardizing mainstream marketability…It uplifts the clone quality of most housing developments with innovations that will make life in the suburbs easier, more sociable and less expensive…"[163]

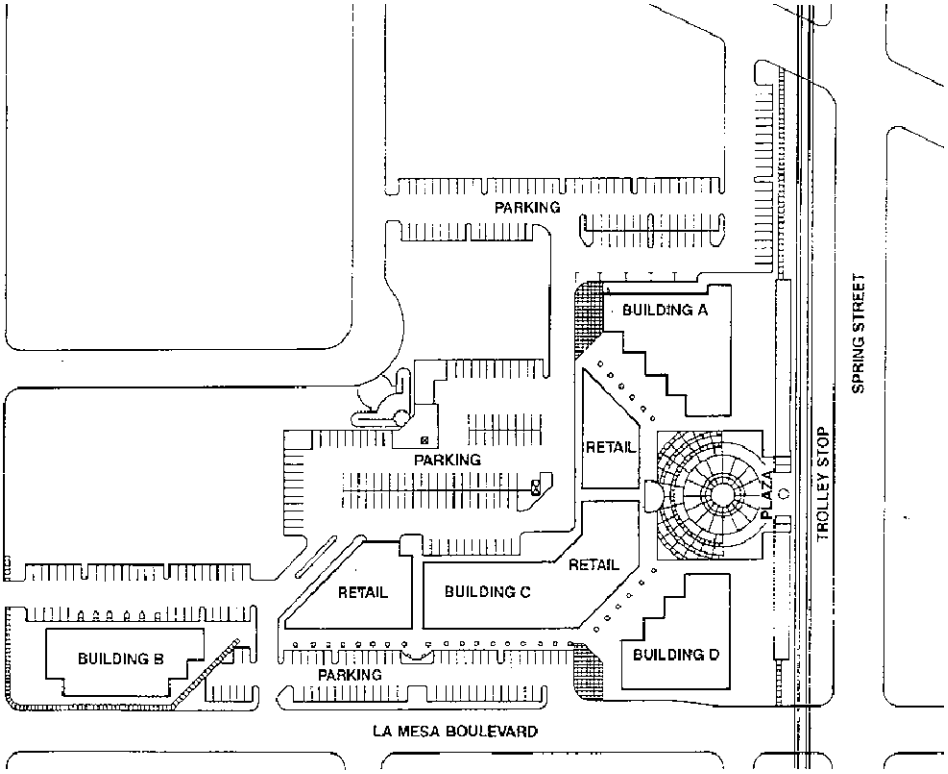
Retrofit development is the future for Mountain View, which has essentially no undeveloped land left available for development. Large tracts of redwood forests near the city have been preserved through private and public action, providing a boundary against sprawl. All growth in the city's future will rise from already developed lands.

The city has already completed a remarkable pedestrian-oriented retrofit of its Main Street as part of a successful downtown revitalization effort. It is also working with citizens in planning mixed-use development around two other transit stations. A collaborative public involvement process has recently resulted in a consensus design plan for development around the Evelyn Corridor Station, adjacent to Mountain View's downtown. Housing density will be in the range of 15-25 units per acre at the site. On a 40-acre site owned by GTE, a defense contractor that is downsizing, the property owners, developers, citizens, and the city are creating a plan for mixed-use development that would include offices, industrial research and development, and housing. The site is adjacent to the proposed Tasman Light Rail line, and is likely to include a residential density of about 20-25 units an acre.[164]

[178] John Stewart, 1995.

Project Profile: Del Norte Place

Del Norte Place is an exciting mixed-use development, that integrates housing and a variety of shops and services, at a site one block from the El Cerrito, California station of the Bay Area Rapid Transit system. Set in a Contra Costa County bedroom community, the site is adjacent to a busy six-lane arterial, across from an abandoned strip commercial development. "There was a rundown motel, a boarded-up bar, two boarded-up commercial buildings and several vacant parcels. All these problems, and a need for additional senior and affordable housing, were solved with Del Norte Place," according to Gerald Raycraft, of El Cerrito's Redevelopment Agency.[165]



Del Norte Place, a four-story, four-building development completed in 1992, includes 135 apartments ranging from one-bedroom 652 square foot homes, to two-bedroom units up to 927 square feet. All residential parking is tucked behind the buildings. Twenty-seven units are set aside as affordable housing. Del Norte Place also includes 21,000 square feet of ground floor retail, which includes a senior health clinic and recreation facility, a post office, a deli and bakery, a Chinese restaurant, an Italian restaurant, an optometrist, and gift shop. A regional bicycle/pedestrian path called the Ohlone Greenway runs through Del Norte Place.[166]

Rhys Roth

Housing, shops, offices, and a rapid transit station encircle a plaza with a

[179] Robert Cervero, National Transit Access Center, *Transit-Supportive Development in the United States: Experiences and Prospects*. Federal Transit Administration, DOT-T-94-08, Washington, DC, December 1993.

[180] Michael Bernick and Robert Cervero, *Transit-Based Residential Development in the United States: A Review of Recent Experiences*. Federal Transit Administration, CA-26-7003-94-1, March 1994; Cervero, 1993; and Nancy Dennison, La Mesa Village Plaza. Personal communication, August 1995.

[181] City of La Mesa, "Historical Time Table: Central Area Redevelopment Project," no date.

[182] Bernick and Cervero, 1994.

Almost 40 percent of Del Norte tenants are over 62 years old, over half are single, and about 20 percent have children. Over half relocated to the development from within the El Cerrito area.[167]

The project was initiated by the El Cerrito Redevelopment Agency (ECRA), which owns the land, when it requested proposals for developing the site. John Stewart submitted an aggressive bid, seeking a site for a mixed use center near the transit station.[168]

Parking is enclosed beneath the condominiums rather than in large surface lots.

ECRA serves as an "equity partner" in the project, leasing the land to Del Norte Place for $1 per year, plus 20 percent of the project's net cash flow. ECRA acquired the site by issuing qualified redevelopment bonds and adding low- and moderate-income housing funds, for a total contribution of about $3.7 million. Permanent financing was provided by Contra Costa County with tax-exempt bonds. The ECRA and County participation necessitates that 20 percent of the units be rented to households earning less than 51 percent of median income.[169]

Housing in Del Norte Place leased rapidly. Ten months after it opened in July 1992, 97 percent of its apartments were rented. Three years later, occupancy rates remain at 94 to 95 percent.[170] While Stewart was concerned about noise from BART trains, he has said that the only noise complaints concerned trucks on San Pablo Avenue, the adjacent arterial. "The proximity to BART so far has had no negatives of noise or security."[171]

When the project opened, Stewart told the *New York Times* that, "Our bet is that 40 percent or more of our tenants will leave their cars at home Monday to Friday and go to work by BART."[172] A recent survey proves him slightly conservative: 48 percent commute by BART, another 8 percent use the bus or walk.[173]

Stewart says the rapid leasing of the units exceeded projections. The project is a "dramatic departure" for El Cerrito but, Stewart jokes that their "biggest marketing tool is out there on the freeway. Every time traffic gets really tied up, we breathe a little easier."[174]

Retail space took longer to lease, although after two years, it is now 88 percent filled. The most obvious factor that slowed the retail is the depressed economy in the East Bay due to closure of the Alameda Naval Air Station. A second factor is the delay of a complementary project that would bridge the gap between Del Norte Place and the BART station. This second mixed-use project, consisting of 96 condominium units and 28,000 square feet of retail, was considered by the ECRA but abandoned when financing could not be secured. The retail component of Del Norte Place was designed to take full advantage of the added foot traffic this second project would have generated.[175]

There are signs that adjacent development may be forthcoming. In March 1995, the ECRA board voted to pursue a proposed 20- to 24-screen cinema complex adjacent to Del Norte Place. In addition to the theatre complex, the proposal includes 216 apartments and 40 000 square feet of retail on the adjacent BART-owned parking lot. Replacement parking for BART, as well as parking for the residential units, the theatres, and for retail will be tucked under the buildings. The theatres would utilize BART's parking garage on weekend

[169] City of La Mesa, no date.
[170] Nancy Dennison, 1995.
[171] Cervero, 1993.
[172] Cervero, 1993.

nights when theatre demand is highest but BART demand is low.[176] The amount of parking the city requires for the residences may be reduced somewhat because, "we're finding that people in these types of developments do not use as much parking as residents of more suburban developments," according to ECRA's Raycraft.[177]

The companion project's delay is a temporary setback for Del Norte Place's retail component, but it does illustrate how a series of pedestrian-oriented, mixed-use projects in close proximity can add up to a more economically robust whole than the sum of each project's part.

Ground-floor retail presented architectural and logistical challenges to the developers. Construction of the base of the building required a more substantial investment in materials, while the costs of waste and ventilation for food service spaces exceeded the developers expectations.[178] As the building industry accumulates experience with mixed-use buildings, and design solutions circulate, more of these specific challenges can be anticipated from the outset.

Del Norte Place has brought new life to underutilized, auto-dominated land. It has integrated housing for seniors, families, and singles, conveniently located to shops, services and public transportation. It has succeeded in spite of a depressed area economy and the delay of an important companion project, providing an impressive model for mixed-use retrofit development.

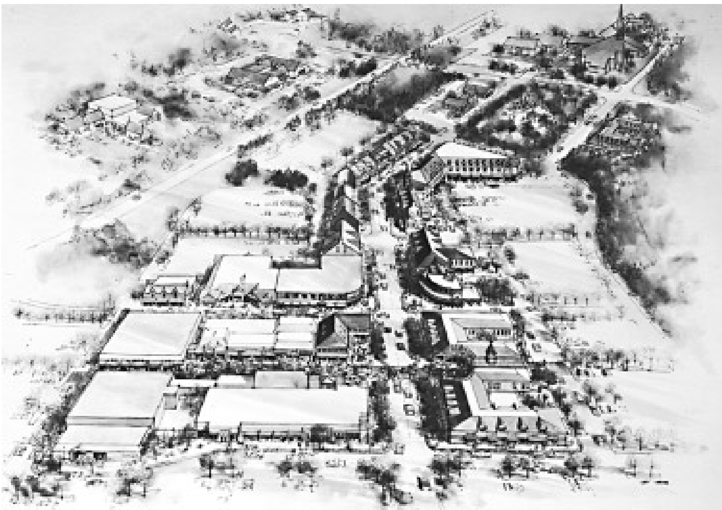
Arnold Chace, Jr. had a new vision for this shopping center his family built in 1962.

Steve Dunwell

Mushpee Commons replaced the old shopping center with pedestrian-friendly designs that echo traditional American town centers.

[187] Paul M. Sachner, "Common sense." *Architectural Record*, McGraw-Hill, Inc, March 1989.

[188] Paul M. Sachner, 1989.



On aerial perspective of the Mashpee Commons when completed.

Project Profile: La Mesa Village Plaza

The La Mesa Village Plaza is a mixed-use project that is seamlessly linked to the San Diego trolley system's La Mesa Boulevard station, adjacent to the main street of the city of La Mesa, California. Robert Cervero of the National Transit Access Center calls it, "one of the most successful transit-oriented development projects in the U.S."[179]

Passengers disembarking from the trolley enter onto a plaza with a fountain and ground floor retail on three sides. Ninety-five condominiums inhabit the upper floors of the main building at a density of 17 units per acre (La Mesa's average is 6.2 units/acre). Two levels of parking are tucked within the center, below the residential and behind the 29,000 square feet of retail storefronts. Office space (66,000 square feet) is clustered in three buildings around the retail/residential center.[180]

La Mesa Village Plaza (LMVP) occupies a 5.4 acre site that was actually part of the city of La Mesa's main street until 1980, when its single story shops were bulldozed as part of a city redevelopment scheme. A series of redevelopment projects collapsed, and the site lay vacant for 11 years. The site is owned by La Mesa's redevelopment agency, which saw several proposed redevelopment proposals fall through due to financing difficulties.[181] The agency was forced to lower the land costs and money required up front, and to offer to carry "a note for payment over time."[182]

In December 1985, the redevelopment agency signed a development agreement with the Commonwealth Companies, Inc. for an innovative mixed-use project. Subsequently, a trolley station was sited immediately ajancent to the proposed project and developers found that only a slight reorientation was needed to link to the station. The transit agency, for its part, revised the station design so that it would complement the architecture and site layout of the Plaza.

Groundbreaking for La Mesa Village Plaza happened three years after the development agreement was signed. The developers found lenders reluctant to finance the project because of unfamiliarity with mixed-use development. The $25 million loan was finally provided by Chase Manhatten Bank.[183] The project has been very successful. The condominiums are 100 percent occupied, retail space is 94 percent occupied, and the office space is 90 percent leased.[184]

Residents of LMVP ride public transit more than residents of the surrounding regions. Data from the National Transit Access Center indicates that, in 1992, residents of LMVP took public transit for 9.3 percent of commute trips. Residents of the City of La Mesa as a whole, used public transit for only 2.6 percent of their commute trips, while residents of suburban San Diego use transit for 2.5 percent of their commutes.[185] With retail and services so close by, residents and office workers can also complete many of their daily errands conveniently on foot.

[189] Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, *Towns and Town-Making Principles*, Harvard University Graduate School of Design.

[190] John Renz, Vice President, Marketing, Mashpee Commons. Personal communication, June 1995.

[191] John Renz, Vice President, Marketing, Mashpee Commons. Personal communication, June 1995.

[192] William Mills, "Big changes in the works for Mashpee." *Cape Cod Times*, January 8, 1995.

[193] Quarterly Notes: Newsletter of Boch Center for the Performing Arts, "Ernest J. Boch Commits $2.6 Million," vol.2, #1, Mashpee, Massachusetts, Fall 1994.

[194] Jeff McLaughlin, "Residents' support means smooth sailing for Cape arts center." *Boston Sunday Globe*, September 19, 1993.

One manager of La Mesa Village Plaza reports that fear of the transit station attracting "undesirables" has raised on-site operating costs (security, repairs and maintenance) well above comparable non-transit sites.[186] Transit agencies clearly benefit from high-density development around stations and, therefore, in the future may want to help pay for any added security costs related to the station.

La Mesa Village Plaza provides an exemplary model of a pedestrian-oriented, mixed-use development. Parking is hidden within the building, which is both convenient for residents and far superior aesthetically to surface parking. Ground-level retail complements other nearby retail, providing a variety of convenient shopping opportunities for residents and office workers. Finally, the attractive plaza provides an outstanding link between the project's housing, retail and office components and the trolley station.

[195] Ruth Eckdish Knack, "BART's Village Vision." *Planning*, January 1995.

Section 4:
Making Redevelopment Work

Project Profile:
Mashpee Commons

As one of the first projects to attempt to redesign a large paved area using neo-traditional design principles, Mashpee Commons is of interest, perhaps as much for what it lacks as what it features. The project is significant if only because it transformed a 4-5 acre auto-oriented shopping center in Mashpee, Massachusetts, set in a vast parking lot, into the Main Street of a mixed-use, pedestrian-oriented retail center.

The project was initiated by Douglas Storrs and Arnold Chace Jr., whose family built the old 70,000 square feet shopping center on the site in 1962 to serve a nearby gated retirement community. Storrs and Chace came to feel that modern shopping centers lacked character and believed the small town communities of their youth possessed qualities that could and should be incorporated into modern projects. In 1984, they began to catalogue the features of nearby villages that seem to work, to assemble acreage around the old shopping center, and to plan a new vision for the site. “We don’t feel that you have to put up a strip shopping center or enclosed mall to be financially successful,” said Storrs.[187]

In order to prevent strip development around the Mashpee Commons site, Chace and Storrs bought up another 275 acres of rural lands around the original shopping center site. They hired Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, pioneers in the “neo-traditional” urban design movement, to turn their vision into site plans for a new community built around the old shopping center. The developers spent years trying to sell the town on the project and obtain the necessary zoning changes. They held several public meetings, attracting 100 to 150 participants to the process, a fairly high level of interest in a town of 9,000 people.

The first of three project phases is now built: the new Main Street, which includes shops and restaurants with offices above; a movie theatre complex; a bank; and a US Post Office. The new streets are narrow — 12-foot car lanes plus 8 feet for parallel parking. Sidewalks are 10 feet wide, sheltered by awnings and framed with planters and benches.[188]

The original plans for the Commons’ also included a 75-room hotel, the town hall, two places of worship, a child care center, and residential housing.[189] Housing originally slated for the project was never built because of financing problems. The owners, however, are now seeking permits to subdivide the property into neighborhoods that would surround and link with the commercial center.[190]

The Commons retail space is 90 percent occupied. The project currently includes 159,000 square feet of ground floor retail. A new street adjacent to Main Street, North Market Street, includes another 70,000 square feet of commercial space.[191]

Mashpee Commons is emerging as the town center of the City of Mashpee. The city has moved its public library and both its police and fire headquarters to the Commons. The city is also considering siting a new high school on the Commons near a proposed 3,000 acre wildlife refuge. A new band shell (proposed by a group that organizes a community concert every July at the Commons) and outdoor skating rink are proposed for sites nearby.[192] A year-round performing arts center has been proposed near the Commons, and it received a $2.6 million pledge in September 1994 from Ernest Boch.[193] The Commons landowner, Fields Point, will donate or sell the land at favorable terms to the performing arts center project. They have also donated land for a 21-unit elderly housing complex,[194]

[196] Jim McMillan, principal, Oliver McMillan, San Diego, California. Personal communication, June 1995.

[197] Jean Driscoll, Financial Consultant. Presentation at the Local Government Commission conference, “Putting Our Communities Back on Their Feet: The Next Steps,” Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, May 4-5, 1995.

Nevertheless, despite the radical departure from mall architecture and excellent pedestrian streets, Mashpee Commons remains a shopping destination that people reach by car. According to Mashpee Commons Vice President for Marketing, A. John Renz, the local community is not large enough to support the mall and the stores must attract customers from throughout the region. Most of the stores have been recruited from the downtowns of nearby communities.

The Commons does not create opportunities for people to meet their needs by walking because it lacks housing, and much of the planned housing will be built at a standard, moderate suburban density. Transit links to the site are weak, although a bus line that serves Cape Cod does stop near by.

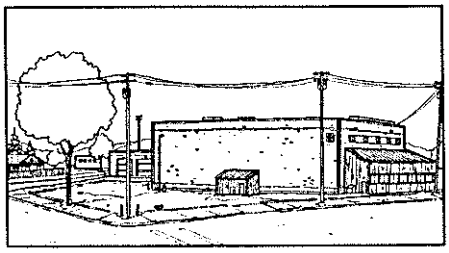
Mashpee Commons provides an excellent outdoor shopping environment for people on foot. It does not, however, provide a real model for mixed-use sustainable redevelopment because the old shopping center that it replaced was so remote and isolated from existing communities. Therefore, it lacks surrounding neighborhoods to integrate with and it does not provide the convenient access to shops and services for residents that will contribute to a reduction in automobile dependence.

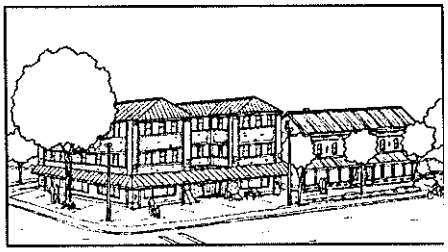
[198] Rick Loessberg, "In-Town Housing", *Economic Development Commentary*, Vol.18, #4, Winter 1995.

[199] Jim McMillan, 1995.

[200] Jo Anne E. Sklar, Marketing Director, Crocker & Company. Personal communication,

Section 4: Making Redevelopment Work





Sno-Trans

The projects profiled in this report show that underutilized, paved-over lands can successfully be transformed into vibrant living space. Every community has used developed land that can accomodate growth more cost-effectively than can the farms and forestlands that are being converted to subdivisions, strip commercial, and suburban shopping malls.

For redevelopment to successfully protect rural lands, contain infrastructure costs, and reduce auto dependency in the state, new attitudes and approaches to development issues will be needed on the part of citizens, developers and local governments. A climate of trust, built on a recognition of the interests of each party, and nurtured by genuine efforts to achieve mutually beneficial development, will be crucial to success. Redevelopment projects appear to work best when the developer, the city, and the residents and businesses of the neighborhood can unite behind a common vision for the site.

A) Redevelopment and the "NIMBY" Syndrome

From a regional standpoint, more and more local governments are recognizing that efficient, transit-oriented development makes sense. Yet in spite of growth management planning, many Washington communities are poised to continue developing in low-density, sprawling patterns. Minimizing sprawl in the next 20 years will mean redeveloping existing communities at higher densities.

But citizens often resist commercial activities and increased residential densities in their neighborhoods. When neighbors organize in opposition to a project, they can often succeed in thwarting it. Frustrated developers and planners decry the "Not-In-My-Backyard" (NIMBY) syndrome, arguing that it contributes to sprawl by driving development pressures outward toward the fringes of town. From the standpoint of the neighborhood activists, they are simply organizing to prevent poorly conceived developments that threaten the quality-of-life in the neighborhood.

Both of these perspectives are valid. To protect farmlands, forests and natural areas, and to ensure a cost-effective system of public infrastructure, most growth must be channeled into existing developed lands. Many of the projects profiled here suggest that the best way to overcome the NIMBY fear of growth, ironically, may be to support it — in a proactive way. To succeed, redevelopment must be tailored to the needs of the current residents.

July 1995.

[201] Snohomish County Transportation Authority, *A Guide to Land Use and Public Transportation, Volume II: Applying the Concepts*. Lynnwood, Washington, December 1993.

[202] Sno-Trans,1993.

[203] Center for Livable Communities, *Participation Tools for Better Land-Use Planning: Techniques & Case Studies.* Local Government Commission, Sacramento, California, 1995.

What's in it for the Neighborhood?

People cannot be expected to support change where they live unless they have a very clear picture of what the changes will look like, and support the changes. The bigger the role that neighborhood interests play in crafting that picture, the more likely they are to support it.

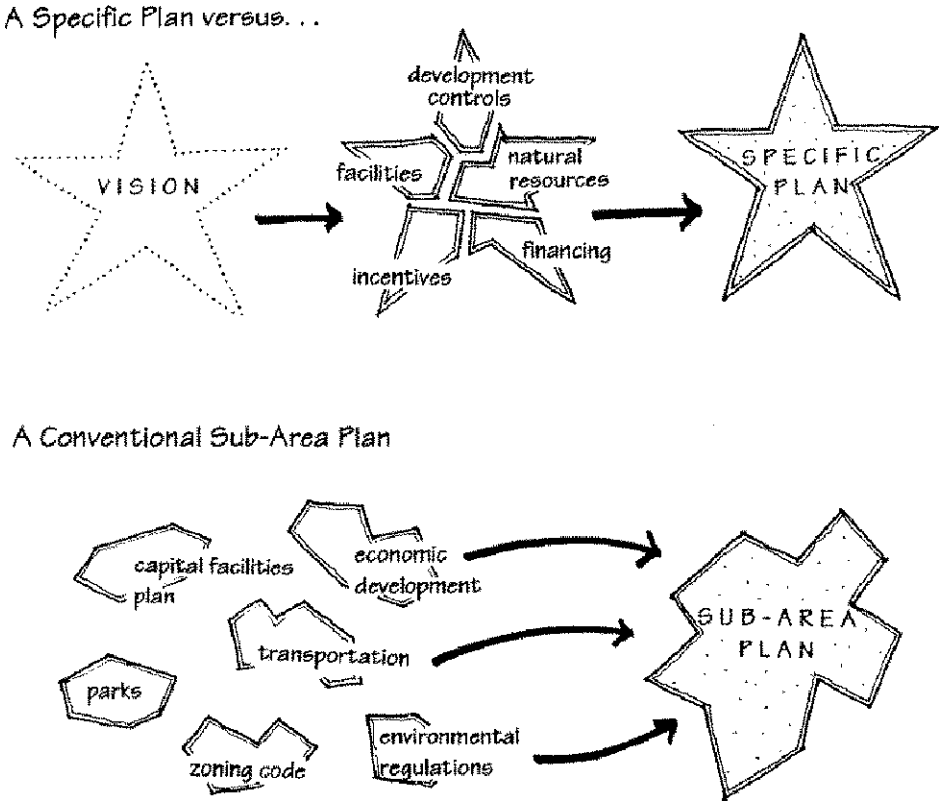
Community leaders are increasingly recognizing that for redevelopment to work in low-density communities, community members must play a meaningful role in shaping the vision and details. Michael Bernick of the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system's Board of Directors points out that, "the transit village idea has been tried before, but it always faltered because the residents did not support it…(In, for example, Oakland's Fruitvale neighborhood) they did it right, they started with the residents."[195]

The redevelopment strategy of creating mixed-use centers around transit stops, within walking distance of existing neighborhoods and development, has a great deal to offer residents. A neighborhood with slower traffic, safer walkways and bikeways for young and old, convenient access to shops, services, and other activities, more trees and plantings, and a neighborhood center with gathering places that reflect a neighborhood's distinct identity — these features of "small town America" have tremendous appeal.

If existing residents are going to support new development in their neighborhoods, it must make the neighborhood a better place to live. As the projects profiled in this report show, this can be done with investment in quality, pedestrian-oriented design, especially if neighbors are involved in shaping development so that it helps fulfill important community priorities.

B) Developers and Sustainable Redevelopment

Allowing the neighborhood to shape the form that development will take is an unaccustomed practice for many developers, implying a new sort of partnership with the community. Jim McMillan, whose firm was a partner in building San Diego's successful Uptown District project, believes that an authentic two-way dialogue between developers and neighbors is key to the success of redevelopment projects. McMillan believes developers must go beyond lip service and "public relations"



[204] Center for Livable Communities, 1995.

[205] Snohomish Transportation Authority (Sno-Trans), *A Guide to Land Use and Public Transportation*,

strategies that involve the public only superficially, to really listen and work to incorporate the desires of the neighbors into the project design. In this process, however, it is vital for developers to tell citizen planners which ideas will not fly economically and why — and then to explore other options for achieving the underlying goal. "It's harder, but it's worth it. It's much more gratifying to work in partnership with the community," says McMillan.[196]

Challenges for Developers

Building subdivisions on rural land will remain simpler and more profitable than building in existing communities as long as the public is willing, and can afford, to extend roads, electricity, water, and other infrastructure and services.

Redevelopment is more complex than building on the fringes because the human environment is more complex. In-town projects must work not only with concerned neighbors, but with the pre-existing layout of buildings and capacity of infrastructure in the area. Problems can arise, too, from regulatory burdens inherited from previous owners, such as contaminated soils. In contrast, rural lands can be cleared and prepared for building relatively rapidly.

Time is of the essence to developers. To buy land, design a development, and to construct it requires significant capital. The costs of borrowing money are a major expense, and each time delay adds to development costs. The relative simplicity of building in rural areas is very attractive to developers because borrowing costs and risks can be minimized.

For builders committed to redevelopment, simply obtaining financing for mixed-use, in-town projects can be very difficult. Because decades of development have been dominated by the separation of residential and commercial spaces, few lending institutions have expertise in both areas. The result is a lending bias against projects that attempt to integrate these uses.[197]

For example, when Columbus Realty Trust was preparing to build its first project in the State-Thomas area of Dallas "it was almost impossible to get financing," according to CEO Robert Shaw. Eventually they convinced Japanese investors to provide financing only because all five of the taxing jurisdictions in the area were participating in the Tax Increment Financing District that supplies infrastructure for development in the area.[198]

What's in it for Developers?

For redevelopment to work for developers, growth management strategies must address the basic challenges that now encourage sprawling development. If this can be done, redevelopment will offer developers distinct economic advantages:

Volume II: Applying the Concepts. Lynnwood, Washington, 1993.

[206] Sno-Trans, 1993.

[207] Sno-Trans, 1993.

[208] Center for Livable Communities, *Participation Tools for Better Land-Use Planning*. Local Government Commission, Sacramento, California, May 1995.

[209] Center for Livable Communities, 1995.

Crafting consensus around the vision and design details of a project among neighbors, the city, and the builder will allow building to proceed relatively rapidly, reducing the borrowing costs of developing property.

Community consensus behind a development vision will also help attract financing. Jim McMillan credits the support of the city and of citizens for increasing the comfort level of Great American Savings Bank with lending the necessary construction funds to build the Uptown project in San Diego.[199]

With supportive capital facilities policies from local governments, compact communities can better afford the higher quality infrastructure that adds value to real estate investments. Columbus Realty Trust's investments in high-density housing, for instance, are greatly enhanced by the city of Dallas' infrastructure investments. Most of the projects profiled in this report helped catalyze a revitalization that elevated the value of all the private and public investments in the area.

Good design that responds well to the needs of surrounding residents can contribute to socially vibrant and economically successful mixed-use centers. As Tom Crocker, developer of Mizner Park points out, "By making it an around the clock environment with complementary uses, we were able to create a 'critical mass' and a synergy lacking in a single-use project."[200]

Identifying Potential Projects

The model projects suggest that, in assessing the potential viability of a site for redevelopment, developers should consider these key factors:

How will the project link to uses in the immediate surroundings? At the Mashpee Commons, the old shopping mall was completely isolated from other developed areas. As a consequence, the new Main Street does not benefit from foot traffic or social vitality from neighboring parcels. At Mizner Park, enormous potential for foot traffic from nearby high-density residential and civic buildings goes unrealized because the area lacks direct, comfortable pedestrian walkways. On the other hand, the Uptown District in San Diego is well-integrated within an established residential and commercial neighborhood which explains the remarkable success of its large grocery in spite of its lack of prominent signage.

What is missing from this neighborhood? Each project within an area need not contain all the components of a mixed-use center: housing, shops and services, offices, public buildings, parks and public spaces. A new redesign project should strive to provide missing pieces. At "The Crossings," the developers are making the case that adequate retail is available close by and is not needed on their site, a point worth considering if good pedestrian link are established. Columbus Realty Trust has carved out a market niche: bringing well-designed, high-density housing and pedestrian improvements to places that already have adequate retail and recreational opportunities, and a high concentration of jobs, within walking distance. Barrio Logan is tailoring the uses of the commercial and service spaces in its mixed-use buildings to meet high-priority needs that the community has identified for itself.

C) Local Government: A New Era

Anita H. Lehmann, AIA for the Puget Sound Regional Council

Growth in already developed areas should be rewarded with high-quality "livability infrastructure."

of Proactive Planning

Sustainable development requires a very different approach to planning for growth than we have used in the past. Often during the last 40 years or so, much of the local government role in development planning has been "reactive": its policies provide only a vague guide for market-driven development; zoning segregates land uses; standards ensure automobile convenience; and permitting powers are used to negotiate a few amenities for the community on a project-by-project basis.[201]

In contrast, transit-oriented planning can be more proactive and comprehensive: the community or neighborhood outlines a vision for its future, community goals are established, an implementation plan is formulated, and public-private partnerships are developed to invest in implementing the plan.[202] Several public participation techniques, profiled in a new guidebook by the Local Government Commission, are proving to be effective tools to "collect and communicate information about people's values…(that) can, in turn, be incorporated into plans that meaningfully reflect citizens' desires."[203]

When local governments build consensus around well-defined visions for the future of the community, they help fulfill a basic mission of democratic government. Former mayor Rick Cole credits Pasadena's ambitious public participation efforts with making the city more open, responsive and effective. He says the process, "has also raised the level of trust among citizens - not in trusting City Hall, but in trusting that they own City Hall."[204]

Once plans reflect the needs of neighbors, projects that fit into the vision can proceed smoothly and local government can avoid much of the conflict that development proposals often elicit. This not only saves developers money, but local governments as well, because land-use conflicts can consume large amounts of staff resources and even result in lawsuits.

Reprioritizing Resources

To make redevelopment attractive to both builders and neighbors, local government must reprioritize its infrastructure and staff resources. First, it can invest in neighborhood-level participatory planning. Then it can streamline the development process for projects that fulfill the clearly defined neighborhood vision. Finally, it can support efficient development with capital facilities funds that enhance the livability and quality of infrastructure in growing neighborhoods.

To begin, planning staff must be given the time and resources to support neighborhood-level planning; helping residents to explore and define the built aspect of their community's future. If a site-specific plan for an area can gain the buy-off of not only neighbors, but also fire, emergency service, and other relevant officials, a single environmental impact review document can be prepared for the entire site. Then staff can work to ensure that proposals to implement portions of the plan can proceed in a streamlined manner.

Supporting good plans with infrastructure resources is critical. By crafting a "least-cost" capital facilities policy, local governments can give priority to investing in already developed areas where growth can most efficiently be supported. The goal for capital investment in these growing neighborhoods should be to soften the impact of higher densities with "livability infrastructure": street trees, sidewalk improvements, traffic calming, neighborhood parks, public art, landscaping, and other neighborhood-level improvements.

Rhys Roth

Many sites lack adequate infrastructure for pedestrians, such as continuous sidewalks.

Tools: The Specific Plan

The state Growth Management Act recognizes the importance of community buy-in, and authorizes local governments to include within their Comprehensive Plans, plans that are specific to "sub-areas." The Snohomish Transportation Authority calls sub-area planning the key step "for the community to be truly proactive."[205]

Sub-area planning allows local governments and residents of an area to set the framework for development, instead of forcing residents into a defensive posture in reaction to various proposals from private developers. Communities in California have a long history of successful use of sub-area plans, called "specific plans," that include a detailed implementation component.

A specific plan also helps overcome the difficulty of coordinating development where there are numerous property owners clustered in a single area. It establishes an integrated master development plan for the entire sub-area with its own specific land use zoning, street and infrastructure standards, design standards and development regulations. This plan supplants general codes and standards, but must be consistent with the framework of the larger region's Comprehensive Plan.

Specific plans are created through a collaboration of local government and the residents and property owners of the area. Local government typically funds the process, recouping its costs through subsequent development fees.[206]

Specific plans provide certainty to both residents and developers. Residents can rest assured that proposals must conform to the vision that they helped create, and developers have clear parameters of expectation in which to work. When specific plans undergo thorough environmental review, separate reports are unnecessary for individual projects that are consistent with the specific plan. This can save developers a great deal of time and money. Local government can operate more efficiently, too, because project-by-project planning and wholesale review absorbs a great deal of staff time and resources.[207]

Tools: Participatory Planning

The participatory planning tools in use in many cities and towns are giving residents the ability to forge a clear design vision for their communities and neighborhoods, which are then adopted into Comprehensive and Specific Plans. The Local Government Commission's guidebook to participation tools concludes that, "A proactive planning process which includes a well-designed citizen involvement component allows citizens to understand exactly what it is they are getting and assures that everyone will be happy with the plan and the individual projects at build-out."[208]

Rhys Roth

The City of San Diego is committed to efficient development. New housing downtown and at rail stations is making transit investments more cost-effective.

Several tools for working with citizens to design a vision for their neighborhood or community have proven effective. These include:[209]

Computer Simulation: Using computerized visuals, all stakeholders in the area can see what different development patterns and street and building designs will look like on specific sites. A photo of the site is scanned into the computer. Then simulation technology allows a technician to add or delete various features of the scene to illustrate alternative futures. What if we add on-street parking, awnings and street trees? What would a three story mixed-use building with balconies look like at the edge of that parking lot? Computer simulation technology allows residents, public officials, and other stakeholders to preview the visual impact of their ideas.

Hands-on Simulation Games: Citizens explore alternative futures for their community by moving buildings and land use icons around on a tabletop model of the area. The small toy-like buildings and land uses are sized to scale so that citizens can see how much land is consumed by various uses, for instance. In small groups, participants create land use plans for managing growth, and then as a larger group discuss the implications of the plans for quality-of-life, cost and workability of infrastructure, and the like. Hands-on simulation games educate citizens about community planning challenges and initiates discussion about how to respond to growth pressures.

The Visual Preference Survey™: Citizens view from between 40 and 240 slide photos showing a wide variety of streetscapes, many from within the community. Participants record their impressions, scoring the images on a scale of minus 10 to plus 10. The collective scores for each image are analyzed to develop conclusions about what sorts of streetscapes and elements people would like to see more and less of in their community.

Guided tours: Stakeholders are led on a walk through the actual places that are being discussed or planned. A guidebook for the site or series of stops is prepared to provide participants with relevant background information and thought-stimulating questions. A workshop follows which allows the participants to voice their insights, ideas, concerns, and other thoughts, which are then compiled into a summary of the experience.

Design charrettes: Residents and other stakeholders join in an intensive collaborative effort to create a detailed, ready-to-implement design plan for a specific area. The charrette process, which can last between one and seven days, is "one of the quickest and best methods for developing consensus" for a site, according to the Local Government Commission. Its goal is to "bring together all the key people with all the pertinent information to 'get the plans right the first time'." This includes property owners and residents, developers, planners, engineers, architects, fire and public works authorities, and the concerned public so that implementable decisions can be made with everyone present.

Charrettes require a great deal of advance preparation to ensure all the pertinent information will be available to participants. The first day of the charrette is an introductory kick-off where general data and issues concerning the site are presented and participants tour the actual site. The days that follow consist of small teams of design professionals sketching designs for feedback from participants, whose comments guide the next set of more detailed drawings. "Pin-up" sessions at the end of the day allow the whole group to assess the on-going design work and identify changes to incorporate for the next day. By the end of a charrette, the community has ready-to-implement project plans with detailed illustrations of building types and uses, public spaces, infrastructure engineering, and ecological restoration.

A Pro-Redevelopment Policy Framework

Because building on undeveloped land is simpler and can be more profitable for developers, it is unlikely that a significant portion of Washington's growth in the next 20 years will be channelled into underutilized developed lands *unless* local governments energetically rethink their development policies.

This important work has begun in many communities, prompted by the state's Growth Management Act. Changing policies to favor sustainable redevelopment will affect many local government functions, including planning, infrastructure investment, tax and regulatory policies, siting and design of public buildings, intergovernmental relationships, and public education.

Planning: Bringing citizens into the planning process will cost more up front, but will likely save much more over time. Not only will it help to avert disputes over development that can consume tremendous amounts of staff time and resources, but it will help agencies and community players to focus on opportunities for efficiency. Pro-active planning can be pursued at three levels:

- Developing a community-wide vision for a livable future will provide overriding regional goals to frame development discussions. Portland, Oregon; Vancouver, British Columbia; and San Diego, California have pioneered exemplary community visioning efforts.

- "Roadshed planning" that views an entire arterial corridor as a connected unit, like a watershed, will allow property owners, residents and agencies to see how actions in one area affect other areas — and to begin to work together as a team. Richard Untermann points out that Highway 99 north of Seattle is served by five different jurisdictions. Roadshed planning would help these entities harmonize their efforts, simplifying project funding and traffic management, for instance.

Conclusion

The prospect of absorbing 2.5 million additional residents in a 30-year period poses a serious threat to the quality-of-life in Washington State. Sprawling land use patterns gobble up rural lands, drive taxes and public infrastructure costs upward, and compound traffic problems.

We now have working examples of a different pattern of development, sustainable redevelopment, that channels growth into low-density lands in ways that enhance the area's livability. For redevelopment to work on a significant scale in Washington State, a new era of proactive planning will need to succeed the current contentious era of reactive planning. Residents, businesses, elected officials, agency directors, planners, and developers are each vital to the process. Each must be involved in meeting the challenge to forge clear and common visions for our neighborhoods and communities.

The need to grow from within rather than ever outward provides an impetus to cooperate in new ways. In planning for sustainable redevelopment, communities can construct a framework to provide quality infrastructure and services at the lowest cost; to give citizens a much greater degree of control over the future of their neighborhoods and communities; and to protect rural lands while enhancing the livability of our cities and towns.

Conclusion

Appendix A: Project Contacts

Uptown District, San Diego:

Tony Mastricola, Public Relations, Uptown Dist, 619-295-6695

Oliver McMillan/Odmark & Thelan, 619-457-0911 (Bill Stone)

Barrio Logan, San Diego:

Jose Campos, city Redevelopment Agency: 619-236-7305.

Rich Juarez, MAAC Project, 619-595-7070

State-Thomas, Dallas

Kyle Crews, Halcyon Associates (represents Columbus Realty Trust): 214-720-0607

Tom Cole, City of Dallas, 214-670-1692

Mizner Park, Boca Raton, Florida:

Jorge Camejo, Community Redevelopment Agency: 407-393-7070

JoAnn Sklar, Mizner Park/ Crocker & Company: 407-362-0606

Shirlington Village, Arlington, Virginia:

John O'Leary, TrammelCrow: 703-379-0007

The Crossings in Mountain View, California:

Calthorpe Associates, 415-777-0181

TPG Development, Chris Wuthman project manager, 415-917-0926

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Appendix B: State Policies Affecting Sprawl

Washington's most important state legislation to address the problems of sprawl is the 1990 Growth Management Act (GMA). The GMA requires local governments in fast-growing counties to work together to plan for projected population growth 20 years into the future. Cities and counties must establish "Urban Growth Areas," boundaries within which most growth will occur. They must also develop comprehensive plans and policies that are consistent among jurisdictions in each county, that will guide the extension of public infrastructure and integrate transportation, affordable housing, economic development, and fiscal goals. These plans must be more than "wish lists," they must be linked to realistic financing mechanisms.[210]

The Washington State Legislature passed the Commute Trip Reduction Act in 1991 in a more focused attempt to reduce drive-alone commuting through employer-based programs. It directed local governments in the state's eight most populous counties to adopt ordinances to reduce drive-alone commute trips with the goal of a 15 percent reduction by 1995, 25 percent by 1997, and 35 percent by 1999.[211]

The state's Department of Ecology recognizes that transit-oriented development (TOD) patterns should yield "improved air quality through reducing the number and length of single-occupant vehicle trips." The department calculated the costs of different strategies to reduce air pollution; unfortunately, in evaluating the TOD strategy, it included the costs to local government of revising local comprehensive plans but did not calculate the savings to be gained by the more efficient use of infrastructure.[212]

The state's Department of Transportation has also been evolving new policies that recognize the intimate link between land use and transportation. Their 1995 Transportation Policy Plan aims to, "Maximize the efficient use of the state's transportation system by developing land use patterns and transportation system improvements that:

- "Facilitate the use of alternatives to single-occupant vehicles;
- "Makes trips shorter;
- "Reduce vehicle travel by providing mixed land development that includes retail and other service amenities within office and residential areas."[213]

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[210] Washington State Department of Community Development, "The Growth Management Act: An Overview," Brochure, Olympia, Washington, no date.

[211] Washington State Energy Office, *Energy Matters: facts, figures and fundamentals for Washington state*. WSEO 92-065, Olympia, Washington, April 1995.

[212] Washington State Department of Ecology, *A Strategy to Reduce Emissions From Mobile Sources, Step 3*, Draft, 1/95.

[213] Washington State Transportation Commission and the Washington State Department of Transportation, *Transportation Policy Plan for Washington State: 1995 Report to the Legislature*, Olympia, Washington, 1995.